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AN
ANSWER
TO THE
DECLARATION

Of the Pretended ASSEMBLY at

DUNDEE;

AND TO A

PRINTED PAPER,

INTITULED,

The PROTESTATION given in by the Dissenting
Brethren to the GENERAL ASSEMBLY,

July 21. 1652. Reviewed and refuted, &c.

In which ANSWER are set down
Ten Steps of their defection
who follow the way of the
Publick Resolutions.

Together with

OBSERVATIONS upon some of the Acts
of the P. Assemblies at *Dundee* and *Edinburgh*, and
some PAPERS concerning the endeavors of the
PROTESTERS for Union with their Brethren,
who differ from them in Judgement.

GOOD READER,

BE pleased to understand, that when that Paper, Intituled The Protestation given in by the dissenting Brethren to the Gen. Assembly July 21. 1652. Reviewed and refuted &c. came abroad in Print, there were differing thoughts about it, amongst these who are concerned to answer it. Some said that it was not worth an answer, others knowing that it did indeed more abound with calumnies and reproaches than with arguments, yet, did judge it fit to be answered, because in this corrupt age calumnies passe for truths among the generality of people without any serious disquisition and examination. Within very few dayes after that Paper was published, an Answer was drawn by one who favoureth the Cause of the Protesters, and was by him intended presently for the Presse; But there it was delayed, and upon good grounds the Review of the Vindication of the pretended Assembly at St. Andrews and Dundee had the precedency in the Presse: for the validity of the Protestation lately made at Edinburgh doth much depend upon the nullity of that Assembly, which was asserted and well proved in that Review; And the Writer of that Paper (I mean the Review of the Protestation made at Edinburgh, to which the Answer was intended) did so hyperbolically commend that Vindication of the Assembly at St. Andrews and Dundee as a Nervous Piece, not yet answered, nor easily answerable, beside diverse other expressions about it, and did so often refer unto it in his Review, that it was easie to perceive that no answer would be accounted satisfactory, if that Vindication were not first answered and published that sober and judicious men might see whether there was so great cause of boasting of that Vindication or not, and to give such Publick provocations in Print, calling for an Answer to it; beside that, there was information that a course was taken by some of those that maintain the Publick Resolutions for Printing the Vindication of that Assembly at London, which was very true for it was Printed there in the year 1652. After the Review of the Vindication was Printed; this Answer was a while stopped at the Presse for want of licence to Print it, and as some things which were in the Copy which was at first intended for the Presse were left out, so other things emergent were added. The Reviewer of the Protestation doth in the beginning of his Paper refer to a Declaration made at the pretended assembly at Dundee, which you will find to be first an-

swered here; and because it abounds with reproaches and mis-informations, therefore there was a necessity to insist the more largely in matters of fact. You have next the steps of their defection who follow the way of the P. and R. solutions, and then the answer to the Review of the Protestation, and lastly some things about the Union endeavoured by the Protesters, together with observations upon some Acts of the said pretended Assemblies; In all which you have their own Papers, that it may be seen that no wrong is done to their cause, in repeating their Reasons and Arguments except it be done by themselves. I desire not to prejudice the Reader by a Preface, only this much I would say farther, - that whereas this Reviewer boasts that the gray headed and aged men for the most part are on their side, to which there is enough answered in this Treatise; Yet I would have it remembered that the same Argument is used by Eliphaz the Temanite against Job. chap. 15. v. 9, 10. What knowest thou that we know not? What understandest thou which is not in us? With us are both the gray-headed, and very aged men, much elder then thy father. But this is better considered by Elihu, Job 32. 7. 8, 9. I said dayes should speak, and multitude of years should teach wisdom: But there is a spirit in man, and the Inspiration of the Almighty giveth them understanding, great men are not alwayes wise, neither do the aged understand judgement. Farewell good Reader, read and consider, and the Lord give thee understanding in all things so I rest,

Thine in the LORD JESUS.

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The PROTESTATION Reviewed and refuted: Briefly shewing the insufficiencie of the Reasons thereof, and consequently the justice of the Assemblies sentence condemning it.

HOW wel this Reviewer and Refuter hath performed what this his Title seems to promise against the Protestation, and for the sentence of the Assembly condemning it, will appear to these to whom the Lord gives an hearing ear, and a seeing eye, by comparing what is said in defence of the Protestation in Answer to this Review. Therefore beseeching the LORD who is no respecter of persons, to make what is here said unfavourie or acceptable unto the Reader, as it contributes for destruction or edification, for darkening or clearing of the truth in this hour of temptation, and day of blasphemie and rebuke. I come to the matter it self.

REVIEW of the PROTESTATION.

Amongst the many sad judgments wherewith the holy blessed God is pleased to exercise this sinfull Land, staining the pride of all our glory, there is none more terrible, then that he threatneith to remove our Candlestick.

DEFENCE of the PROTESTATION.

Albeit the Generation of the righteous in the Land, who are instructed with a strong hand, are preserved in hope, that the thoughts of the Lord towards this poor Church, are thoughts of peace, and not of evill, to give us an expected end, yet that there be many things which threaten that most dreadfull judgment of removing the Candlestick, he that runs may read, the shadowes of the evening are grown long, and the wilde beasts are come out of their dens, our Battlements are broken down, and the Adversary
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hath stretched forth his hand upon all our pleasant things : we see not our signs, there is no more any Prophet, neither is there amongst us that knoweth how long, the Lord is become as a stranger, and as a way-faring man in the Land, that turns aside to tarry for a night: he hath covered himself with a cloud in his anger, and prayer is restrained before him; the anger of the Lord hath divided us, and he seems no more to regard us. But that which is most dreadfull in it self, and doth most imbitter so sad a condition, is, that we have fallen from our first love; we have forgotten the Lord, and dealt falsely in his Covenant, our hearts are turned back, and our steps have declined from his way; we have forsaken the fountain of living waters, and digged unto our selves broken cisterns that can hold no water; We have walked in the way of *Egypt*, to drink the waters of *Sihor*; and in the wayes of *Assyria*, to drink the waters of the river, the enemies of the Lord have been intrusted and stayed upon, their interests owned and promoted, holiness and piety despised and troden under foot, the godly persecuted and reproached, the hearts of the wicked made glad, and their hands strengthened; the hearts of the righteous made sad, and their hands weakened, the Work of Reformation in purging of scandalous and prophane Officers and Members out of the House of God, evill spoken of for what is past, and a foundation laid to obstruct it for the time to come; yea, to persecute and cast out such who shall oppose and bear testimony against these things; and yet after we have done all these things, and have gadded about so much to change our way, have trimmed our way to seek love, and also taught the wicked ones our wayes, we wipe our mouth, and say, We are innocent. And that notwithstanding all that is come upon us, we have not forgotten the Lord, nor dealt falsely in his Covenant; and we cannot bear these who discover our iniquity, and make known our sins unto us. If there be any who desiring to keep their integrity, and to adhere to their former principles, bear testimony against the Lands back sliding and defect on against our Princes and Prophets, and People in their late transactions with the enemies of Reformation, and haters of the people of God, and of the power of godliness, these are the burden of many, and are for signes and wonders who are spoken against; even these are they whom this Reviewer and Refuter calls *deceivers and persecuters, and miserable comforters, who in the day of Sions calamity stand afar off from her,*

her, and persecute her whom the Lord hath smitten, and talk to the grief of these whom he hath wounded, and who in her adversity gather themselves together, in the place of cordials bringing corosives. The Protesters against whom he throweth these reproaches, acknowledge themselves to be men compassed about with many infirmities, and that for their sins also wrath is upon the Land: But if they have done this thing, and if this iniquity be in their hands wherewith they are here charged, let their honour be laid in the dust, and their glory turned into shame; I think they may and will, in trembling and humble fear, commit their Cause unto the righteous Judge of the World, who will make every mans works manifest, is it to stand a far off from Zion, or not to comfort her, or to deceive her, or to persecute her, not to be consenting to the whoredoms and back-slidings of her children? And to tell them, that they have perverted their way, and have forgotten the Lord their God, and to say to her Prophets, that they do not discover her iniquity, to turn away her captivity, and that they, even they have caused the Lords people to erre: some of them built a wall, and many strive to uphold it, and daub it with untempered mortar; I mean, that some of them gave counsell concerning the imploying and entrusting the Malignant Party, and that many adhere thereto; and for strengthening these wretched foundations, have corrupted and perverted the Nationall Assemblies of this Church in the free and lawfull constitution thereof; that they have made sad the hearts of the righteous, whom the Lord hath not made sad, and strengthened the hands of the wicked, that he should not return from his wicked way, that they thrust with the side and shoulder, and push the diseased with their horns, to scatter them abroad, that they decree unrighteous decrees, and write grievous things against their brethren, which they have prescribed. Our bruise is sore, and our wound is incurable, for the Lord hath wounded us with the wound of an Enemy, with the chastisements of a cruell one, for the multitude of our iniquities, because our sins were encreased: Therefore is it no time to cover our transgressions as Adam, by hiding our iniquity in our bosome, nor to daub with untempered mortar, nor slightly to heal the daughter of our people, but to give glory to the God of Israel, by taking shame to our selves, and confessing wherein we have trespassed against him; and it is the best service that can be done to Zion, to shew her sons and her

her daughters in this day of her calamity, why the Lord contends with her. Such corrosives from friends, are better then the cordials of flatterers; when the righteous smites it is a kindnesse, and when he reproves, it is an excellent oil which breaks not the head. Surely this is the Lord and his Saints; yea, the Interpreters one of a thousand their paved way of being comfortable to these whom GOD hath smitten, to discover their work and the transgression wherein they have exceeded, that they may open their ear to discipline, and remember whence they are fallen, and repent, and do their first work, lest if they obey not, they perish by the sword, and die without knowledge; or he come against them quickly, and remove their candlestick out of his place, *Levit. 26. 40. 41. Job 34. 29, 30, 31, 32, 33. Job 36. 8, 9, 10, 11, 12. Rev. 2. 4, 5.*

PROTESTATION Reviewed.

I *Shal be leaſt to trace that too too ordinary by-path of judging any mans eternal eſtate by his temporal out-breakings, or his heart and intentions by the outside of his actions, yet I think I may ſafely ſay, That that Aſſembly at St. Andrews and Dundee, although deſpised of Men, was owned of GOD, and that he guided their Pens, as all along in their Procedor, ſo particularly in their Warning and Declaration, and theſe Word thereof, what ever hath been the intention of theſe who have been inſtrumental in making of this rent from Publick Counſels and Aſtings, yet the Work it ſelf, and the ſpirit that hath been ſtirring in it, hath been and yet is moſt effectual for carrying on of the deſign of the adverſaries of our cauſe; Which they prove by ſeven Steps of their Progreſs.*

PROTESTATION Defended.

TO judge of any mans everlaſting eſtate by his temporal out-breakings, or his intentions by the outside of his actions, as it is to encroach upon things ſecret which belong unto God, and to walk uncharitably towards men, ſo it is not the path which the Proteſtants have troden, and it is but a groundleſs inſinuation to ſuggeſt it of them, they know, and do acknowledge, that many of the Lords Precious Ones before their effectual calling are amongſt the worſt of out-breakers, and that ſome of them even after they are made partakers of the Grace of God, fall into grievous ſins; yet do

not these things bar them, or cut them off from the mercy of God, whose election is according to Grace; and therefore the Protesters have not denied the Testimony of gracious men to not a few of these whose hand (alas for it!) is deep in the provocation; they know also how to distinguish, and have distinguished betwixt the condition of the work, and the intention of the worker, and think charitably of the one, whilst they condemn the other: yet these things hinder them not to discern betwixt the righteous and the wicked; him that serves God, and him that serves him not: the Lord hath taught us that false Prophets may be known by their fruits, and that men do not gather grapes of thorns, nor figs of thistles, *Matth. 7. 16. 20. The transgression of the wicked saith within mine heart, that there is no fear of God before his eyes. Psal. 36. 1.* As I dare not judge of any mans everlasting estate, but leave it unto him with whom the books are; so have I not so learned Christ as some men would have it, to put no difference amongst the Professors of the Gospel, but to call them all godly though estranged from the life of God through the ignorance that is in them, and walking contrary to the Gospel. That the Assembly at *S. Andrews* and *Dun-ee* was owned of God, and that He all along in their procedor did guide their Pens, as my soul cannot away with that assertion to subscribe to it, so I fear it is more then the Lord will allow any man to say. 1. Because that Assembly did say, a confederacy to these concerning whom the Lord spoke to his Prophet with a strong hand, and instructed him that he should not say, A confederacy to them, *Isa. 8. 11, 12.* And therefore, although they did associat themselves, yet they did fall and fall together, *Isa. 31. 3.* The sad dispensation of their ruin being in the beginning thereof at *Inverkeithen* in Providence trysted with the beginning of that Assembly, and afterward more fully accomplished and perfected at other places, as they, and their Commission went on in ratifying of these Resolutions, and censuring the opposers of the same, and issuing Warnings and Declarations in reference to these things. 2. Because that Assembly was so far from rejoycing the hearts, or approving themselves unto the consciences of most of the godly in the Land, or from leaving this sealed impression upon their hearts that they had the image and authority of Jesus Christ, and did proceed according to the Law and the Testimony, and employ their power unto edification and promoting of godliness; that upon the

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contrary they did exceedingly sadden their spirits and leave a deep and strong conviction thereupon, that they did add unto the Lands provocation and encrease wrath, and that in most of all their actings they did walk not unto edification, but unto destruction. 3. Because their actings did rejoyce the hearts and strengthen the hands of these in the Land who were void of Grace and of the knowledge of Jesus Christ, and adversaries to the Cause and People of God, and mockers and haters of Piety and Godliness. Was not that Assembly countenanced and pleaded for? and is it not to this day countenanced and pleaded for by all the generation of malignant and prophane persons throughout the Land? And sure, if it had been so much countenanced and owned of God, it is not like that it should have been so endeared to these who have so much opposed his friends and interest in *Scotland* these many years past. 4. Because that Assembly at *Dundee* did for no other cause, but for protesting against their wrong Constitution, and the ratifying of these Resolutions, censure and pronounce the sentences of Deposition and Suspension against sundry godly men who have obtained mercy of the Lord to be followers of his Cause since the beginning of the late Reformation, and whose Ministry hath been sealed of the Lord upon the hearts of not a few of his People. 5. Because they did by their Acts lay a foundation for censuring all Ministers, Elders, Expectants, Students and Professors whatsoever, who refuse to acknowledge the constitution of that Assembly and oppose the Acts thereof; which as it makes way for the casting out of many able & godly Professors from being Church-members (for it is well known how many there be of the godly in the Land both Ministers, Elders, and Professors, who cannot be consenting to submit to these things, but do hold themselves bound in their stations to bear testimony against them) Now, to cast out & persecute all these, or to lay a foundation for doing of it, whether it be to be owned & guided of God, and to do things to edification; or if it be not rather to be deserted of the Lord, to establish iniquity by a Law, and to decree unrighteous Decrees, & write grievous things against their Brethren which they have prescribed, I leave it to those who are taught of God, to consider. As to that passage in the Warning and Declaration of that Assembly (so much magnified and cried up by the Author of this *Review*) it was, and it is the intention of the Protesters, through the Lords assistance (though with much weakness) to oppose the design

design and work of the Adversaries on both hands, and to tread the middle path, the good old way, without declining to the right hand or to the left, upon which accompt it was that they could not condescend to employ and associat with, and entrust one adversary for opposing another, knowing such courses to be condemned of God in his holy Word, and to have proven bitter often heretofore unto this Nation, and for this cause did solemnly engage, that we should do no more so ; Therefore have they alwaies owned, and strictly adhered to the Covenant and Cause, and former Principles of the reforming party in this Land, set down in their Publick Papers; and that they might not partake of other mens sins, did not concur with, but bear testimony against the carnal counsels of mens own hearts, because of which the Sword did abide in our Cities, and consume our branches, and devour them, *Hos. 11.6.* and the spirit that hath been stirring in them in these actings (I trust) is no other then the good Spirit of God, the Spirit of truth and holiness, the voice behind them that speaks in the ears of the Lords People, *This is the way, walk ye in it, when they turn to the right hand, and when they turn to the left hand, Isa. 30.21.* In order to this passage of the Warning at *Dundee*, I wish the first penner thereof, and the Gentleman who now hath cited it, and all others, to consider these few things : 1. That not long ago there was a time that some of the best and most precious of these who now charge the Protesters with these harsh imputations of having a *spirit stirring in their work that hath been, and is most effectual for carrying on of the design of the Adversaries of our Cause* were liable no less then the Protestors now are to the same Imputations from these by whom they now are cried up and commended, and with whom they now joyn issue in casting them upon their Brethren. It concerns them to think whence these changes are, and whether they have given diligent heed to that word of exhortation that saith, *Let them come to thee, but go not thou to them.* 2. That the Protesters have studied to take hold of every opportunity to declare and make known their approbation of, and adherence unto the Work of Reformation, and to bear testimony against all injuries done thereunto, and encroachments made thereupon, and have endeavoured to the utmost of their power to prevent and remedy the same. 3. That the Authors and Abettors of the Publick Resolutions, have now met several times in their Assemblies and Commissions,

missions, yet to this day have we had no word of testimony from them against these adversaries of our Cause, with the promoting of whose design they do so much charge the Protesters, but their spirit and zeal hath been spent another way. As to what they have done at their late Assembly with closed doors, none being present but themselves, that cannot be looked on as a testimony to the Cause of Christ, and at the best it will amount to no higher, then the profession of *Nicodemus* in private. Why have they not made it a testimony indeed, and appointed some of their number to presently own and avow it, before some of these against whom they testify, as the Protesters did seasonably and with the first opportunity? Or why did they remove all others out of their meeting? Were they afraid that some should have born witness and testified what they had done? If they looked on themselves as an Assembly of this Kirk, they cannot be ignorant that the transactions of General Assemblies ought and use to be publick, and especially their testimonies. Or why did they not communicate the same to Synods, Presbyteries and Congregations, but let it ly in the dark to this day. If they desire to be accounted faithfull, they would either give a more distinct and certain sound concerning these adversaries, or else speak less against the Protesters, lest they bewray more passion then piety, and more of the zeal of themselves, then of the true zeal of God.

4. Where hath that spirit lodged which this last year past hath been most effectual for carrying on the design of the adversaries, whether among the Protesters, or amongst the Authors and Abettors of the Publick Resolutions, let themselves speak.

But because he is pleased from that Warning and Declaration of the Assembly at *Drumceoch*, to mention seven steps of progresse, whereby they labour to prove what they do assert in the former passage acted by him, therefore seeing that Declaration (which is fraughted with much ill-grounded charity to Malignants, and with a great deal of causeless prejudice and mistaken zeal against many of the precious and godly in the Land) begins again to be digged up out of its grave, wherein sad dispenations of Providence did once seem to bury it before it could be heard speak in many of the Congregations of the Land, therefore though he do insist on the last Step, yet for truths sake, and for clearing of these who are traduced without cause, I shall speak shortly to all the seven.

THe first step is expressed thus: *The credulity of some, believing the hypocritical pretences of this now prevailing faction of Sektaries, mixed apparently with the crafty designe of others, would not so much as admit the suspicion of this enemies purpose to invade us, and thereupon did resist and retard the lifting of an Army for the defence of the Cause and Kingdom, untill the Enemy was very near our Borders, and had emitted a Declaration of their resolution to invade us, so that all means of defence was like to be utterly marred.*

DEFENCE.

TWo things are charged here upon the Protesters and their adherents, as the principle of their actings, credulity in some, and designe in others. As to the first, it is indeed ordinary to gracious men to be credulous of these who have the shew of godlinesse, untill they see them deny the power thereof, and I think this fault (if it be a fault) may be easily pardoned by these who allow so large charity to Malignants upon bare and naked Professions now and then, when they come before the Judicatories of the Kirk, notwithstanding of their many former breaches and relapses, and known dissimulation, & contrary cariages in the tenor of their speeches & actings, but what ever be these mens credulity, yet seeing they walked in the simplicity of their hearts, the Lord hath to this day kepted them out of snares, and given them, as to the main of their carriage, to keep the straight way, declining extreams on both hands. As to the second, to wit, a crafty designe in others, it is alleadged to be apparently so, but no evidence is brought of that, neither can any evidence be brought of it, it being a meer alleadgement, without all ground of truth, such things have been spoken, and written, and preached by some now for a good while past, it is now high time since it hath been so often called for, for their own credits sake, to bring some proof of what they say; I beseech the Author of these words, and of all such expressions, as before the Lord, and as they would not wrong themselves nor their brethren, nor delude and do injury to others, by filling their hearts with thoughts of jealousy and rancour against innocent men, if they know any thing of this kind, to bring it forth; and if they know

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nothing, to forbear such reproches, which though for the present they be bitter to these whom they asperse, yet in the end the shame will return upon the heads of these who have broached and vented them; It may be remembred, that reproaches of this kind were cast upon the most eminent and faithfull, in the year 1648, by the Authors of the unlawfull Engagement, because of their opposing thereof, and bearing testimony against the same; but passing these, I come to that which is alledged to be their work, and that was, that they did resist and retard the lifting of an Army for defence of the Cause and Kingdom, for clearing and confuting of which, it would be remembred, that as in resolving and condescending upon the Instructions given to the Commissioners of this Kingdom for Treating with the King, there were some who too much favouring the Malignant party, would have had it put in Instruction, that this Kingdom would engage in a War against *England*, for restoring the King to his Throne, upon condition of his giving satisfaction in the Demands propounded to him, which when they could not obtain, their next endeavour was, that the transaction at *Breda* might be so carried, as that the King and his Party might have some probable assurance of this, and therefore was the first invitation given to the King there, contrived in such words & expressions, as seemed to import the same; which being sent home to this Kingdom, was censured & corrected by the Parl. & new Instructions sent back to *Holland*, containing the express demands of this Kingdom to the King, and the form of the Invitation given him upon satisfaction *in terminis* to these demands; which form of Invitation & Declaration made therewith, did exclude all engagement to make war upon *England*, yet was there a Party in the Land, and some in the Parliament, whose designs and endeavors did still tend to engage us in a War against *England*. On the other hand there was cause to fear an Invasion from *England*, by reason of the preparations made the former year by those in power in that Nation, upon the report of an Agreement betwixt the King and Commissioners sent from this Kingdom to *Holland*, in the year 1649. The great difficulty was, how to steer an even course in reference to both these extremes, both to prevent a sinfull Invasion from this Land upon *England*, and from *England* upon this Nation. The Parliament having seriously pondered both the dangers, took this course; They sent to their Commissioners then in *Holland*, renewed Instructions,

ons, together with a Declaration, wherein they made known their dissatisfaction with severall things in the Treaty, in which the Commissioners had varied from their Instructions, particularly they declared, that nothing agreed on should import an obligation to make War against *England*, and gave expresse direction that none of the Malignant Party should be permitted to come to *Scotland*; and this Instruction was forthwith turned into a Law, and published in Print by Proclamation at the Market Crosse of *Edinburgh*: And the Earl of *Calendar* who had adventured to come from *Hollana* to *Scotland*, upon hopes of the approbation of that Treaty, was presently commanded to go aboard a ship within twenty four hours, and forthwith to depart the Kingdom, under the pain of imprisonment, and the fine of a hundred thousand merks. These Instructions and the Declaration of the Parliament, were delivered to the Commissioners in *Holland*, before the King came away, together also with Letters to the same purpose from the Commission of the Kirk to their Commissioners. To prevent the danger of an Invasion from *England*, the Parliament did (without so much as the least question or objection made to the contrary by any Member thereof) renew the Acts of Posture and Leavie which were made the year preceding, for putting the Kingdom in readinesse in case of Invasion, and upon the 22. of June 1650. they wrote Letters directed to Mr. *Lenthall*, Speaker of the House of Commons, the Lord *Fairfax* then Lord Generall, Lieut. Generall *Cromwell*, Major Generall *Lambert*, and the Governour of *Newcastle*, in which Letters they shew, that as in their Letter of the 6. March 1649. they did both acknowledge their obligation, and did declare their resolution to observe the rule of remonstrating first the breaches of Peace, of craving just reparation, of using all fair means of giving a preceding Warning of three months before any engagement of these Kingdoms in War, so they do again renew the same, and do solemnly professe, that they do it in the sincerity of their hearts, not out of any policy to catch advantages for any other end or designe, but meerly for their own defence, which they do accompt abundantly sufficient to remove all grounds of jealousies and mis-reports of their intentions, and to take away all pretence of necessity of the marching of Forces for defence of the Borders of *England*. And being informed of a resolution in *England* to send an Army to invade this Kingdom, they desired to know

whether these who have the present power in England do acknowledge themselves obliged, or by their answer will oblige themselves and declare their resolutions to observe the foresaid way and order upon their part to us, and plainly and clearly to declare whether their Forces do march for defence or offence, for keeping onely within the Borders of England, or coming within ours: which way of procedor in clearing each other, and dealing plainly, is not onely agreeable to particular Treaties, and to the many Bonds and Declarations past betwixt these Kingdoms, but also to the Law of God, and practice of his people in his Word, and to the Common Law and practice even of Heathen Nations, much more of Christian covenanted Kingdomes, &c. When the Forces appointed to be raised for defence of the Kingdom, together with the old standing Forces that were before on foot, were to be formed and drawn together in a Body, there were some differences in Parliament; one was, Whether the Malignant Party, and persons grossely scandalous should be excluded from the Army, or not? There were none in Parliament that had the countenance to plead for it directly; our constant Principles being known to be so expresse against it, and the Kirk having so often pressed upon the Parliament by many Petitions, Remonstrances, and Declarations, the purging of their Forces, but diverse would have had the Act for making up the Army to passe, without appointing any Committee, having power to remove such from the Army. Another difference was, Whether the Committee of Estates should have power to command the Army to invade England (as was done in the year 1648) or if there should be a limitation of their power onely to stand for the defence of the Land within our Borders. In this question likewise there were none that pleaded expressly for such a power in the Committee, but they opposed the limitation. Some time was spent in conference and debate about these, but they were so few in Parliament that were either against the exclusion or limitation, that when the sense of the Parliament came to be known, their number was no wayes considerable, so that what is here represented by the Authors of that Declaration against the Protesters, as the first step of declining, is in effect an evidence of their own declining from the former principles of State and Kirk, for both were then unanimous for exclusion of the Malignant Party and grossely scandalous persons from the Army, and against the invading of England, which were

were the two questions in Parliament that did retard for some days the bringing forth the new levied Forces; for so soon as these two questions were ended, it was evidently seen there were none more forward in Parliament and Committees to hasten them to the fields, then these who are unsatisfied with the late Publick Resolutions; and there was together at *Leith*, before the English Army marched into *Scotland*, so considerable a number of Horse and Foot, that they were double the number of the English. Surely no other thing but the change of principles, or groundlesse prejudice could lead men to quarrell thus for want of an Army to defend the Land, the great number whereof made the stroke at *Dunbar* the more unexpected, doleful & dreadful. This is the truth concerning what is laid to the charge of that faithful Parliament which met at *Edinburgh* in the year 1650, and whose endeavours to prevent extreams were answered with disappointment on both hands, which I trust doth sufficiently answer what is said anent the first step.

DECLARATION.

THe second step is set down thus: *When the Enemy had invaded us, and an Army was raised, under pretence of purging the Forces, and keeping the Kings Interest under due subordination to God, courses were taken, as after-actings made manifest, tending to the dividing of the Army, perplexing and discouraging the spirits of these who laboured to be faithfull both to God and their King, and humoring of, and yeelding to the untimous and dangerous motions of such who were under suspicion of too much affection to the Enemy, and that not without cause, as is now too too evident.*

DEFENCE.

I Confesse it is to me matter of sorrow and astonishment to hear these words. Was not the purging of the Army from such of the Engagers as had not approven themselves in their repentance, a duty that all of us were solemnly engaged unto before the Lord? Had not the Generall Assemblies of this Kirk, and their Commissions before that time, given in above twenty severall Petitions, Warnings and Remonstrances to the Parliament and Committee of Estates for that end? Had they not issued Declarations and Warnings to all the Land concerning the necessity of that duty, as we desired

desired to prosper and be blessed of God? And had not all the Congregations of the Land kept severall Fasts and Humiliations by their appointment in order thereunto? Had not the Parliament and Committee of Estates made Acts, and appointed Commissions there-*anent*, and taken the persons to whom Commission was given, solemnly engaged and sworn to go faithfully about it, as they would be answerable unto God; and after all these things (in which many of the leading men of that Assembly at *S. Andrews* and *Dundee* were concurring and consenting) to hear the endeavours of purging of the Army, so reflected upon and spoken against; what is this but to proclaim against themselves, that either they did then dissemble, or else that now they are repenting of the thing which they did then concur in and were consenting to as a duty; but what ever be their thoughts of it, as these whom they now speak against did in the simplicity of their hearts then endeavour it, so do they still owne it as a duty, and are sorry to hear it otherwise spoken of, especially by these who profess love to Reformation. And I do as much wonder of that which they speak of the Kings Interest, seeing nothing was done in reference thereto, but the declaring of the due subordination thereof unto God's, and that they would not otherwise owne him and his quarrell, but in that subordination, and that they meaned to fight upon the same *state* of quarrell upon which they had done these twelve years past, which was not done by any particular persons or party, but jointly and unanimously both by the Committee of Estates, and Commission of the Kirk, none dissenting, and was homologated by the whole Officers of the Army in a supplication to the Committee of Estates, and so far as did then appear, generally followed in their stations and capacity. This, together with the leaving that Declaration of the Commission of the Kirk, *anent* the subordination of the Kings Interest, out of the Act of the Assembly at *Dundee*, which ratifieth the proceedings of the Commission, speaks what spirit stirred in the Assembly when these things were penned and approved; but (say they) under pretence of these things, courses were taken for dividing of the Army, and yet they do not tell what these courses were at that time, but labour to find the evidence of them in after actings, they did wisely to wrap up in generals, without condescending upon any particular, lest they should have therein been found out, but their generals are as easily denied, as affirmed. What is meant by after-actings, requireth

quireth explication, and somewhat over : If he can make this much out of the actings at *Hamilton*, which were their last field-actings. I shall wonder at his wit, to say nothing of his conscience. Who these faithfull ones to God and the King are, whose spirits they did so much labour to perplex and discourage, I do not know. I do as little know what were these untimous and dangerous motions, wherein such as were under suspicion of too much affection to the Enemy, were humoured in, and yeilded unto. It may be remembred that as a great part of the Army was much weighted in their spirits, with the carriage of these, especially some of chief note, who did obstruct the purging of the Army, and gave countenance and encouragement to such as were, or should have been removed out of the Army; so the whole Army Officers and Souldiers, and the Committee of Estates were much perplexed, discouraged, and dissatisfied with the slackness, shiftings, and delays, and solitary counsels and courses of chief men in the Army, who had the leading of the Forces, and for most part did do therein, and dispose thereof as seemed best to themselves, without taking much notice either of the Committee of Estates or Officers of the Army; and none was more perplexed, discouraged, and dissatisfied with this way, then some of these who had a chief hand in penning this Declaration, in so much that having once spoken therein, they got so unsatisfying an answer, that with much discontent they did declare, they meant never to speak again in that matter. And it may be also remembred, that the untimous and dangerous motions of which they speak, were so far from being thought so when they were proponed, that it was the grief of many in the Army & Committee of Estates, yea and of Assembly-men too, who are supposed to be skilled in these things, that they were not entertained and hearkened unto, the truth is, never any motion of that kind made by any of these whom they call of suspected affection, from the day that our Army came together, untill the day that it was routed, was hearkened unto, unlesse they instance the in-fall at *Musleburgh*, but onely the half of that motion was followed for the Party which was appointed by the unanimous resolution of the Officers to make good their retreat. who made the in-fall, was not sent, which, whether it was faithfulness to God and the King, and to their Brethren, much of whose blood was shed, their own hearts who did it can best judge; as best knowing what were the induce-

men

ments that moved them not to make the resolution of the Officers concerning the sending of that Party effectual. Other motions were made by these suspected men also, as to have fallen on at *Goger* and at *Dumbar*, to set behind the Enemy, and not before them, but were not hearkened to. It is well known who made the motion to draw the Army down the hill on Monday morning, and carried it by plurality of voices in a Council of War, which appointed it to be put presently in execution; yet upon a new conceit, without advice of the Officers, he delayed all that day till five at night that it was dark, and then he brought it down, contrary to the advice of the Officers. I trust they will not deny that this was a dangerous motion, and they cannot say, that any of these suspected men had a hand therein. Concerning the last words of that second step, let it be this day examined and considered, what hath been the carriage of these suspected men, and of their unsuspected men the Malignant Party, and it will at least be found very evident, that this Reviewer his suspicion is calculated to a wrong Meridian.

DECLARATION.

THe third step is in these words: *When after that sad stroke at Dumbar, the Lords dispensation did call for wayes of union and healing, instead of these, subtle courses were taken to engage a great part of the Well-affected in the West, to separate from the Forces of the Kingdom, whereby instead of joint concurring for acting against the Enemy, jealousies were begotten, and so far increased, that there was no small danger feared, lest the one part of our Forces should have fallen upon the other.*

DEFENCE.

THe plainest things, and which are acted with the greatest simplicity and integrity, are often branded with the name of subtle devices, by maintainers of an ill cause, who no sooner depart from their former principles, but they give to their opposers the very name, which (were their eyes opened of the Lord to see their own wayes) they should take to themselves. What subtle device could there be here? The Committee of Estates hearing before the defeat at *Dumbar*, that Forces were levying in the North of *England*, which were to come into *Scotland* by the way of *Carlisle*, they wrote Letters to the Western Shires to meet and correspond among

among themselves , and to be in readinesse for their own defence. This put them in some forwardnesse to rise in Arms , when they heard of the defeat, which being on the third of Sept. the Gentlemen of the Comittees met upon the fifth, and had some of their number at *Sterlin* upon the sixth , who made offer to raise speedily a double proportion of the ordinary Levie, which was well accepted by the Committee of Estates , and Commission of the Kirk, and Letters of encouragement written from both, which are yet extant, and the Committee of Estates sent such Officers to conduct these Forces, as they knew to be most acceptable to the Western Shires. The Forces were raised by authority of the Committee of Estates , and were obedient to their Orders sent from time to time under the Lord Chancellours hand, which yet remain uncanceled, to witnesse against such calumnies : And there was never any command sent to them to come and joyn with the rest of the Forces, untill agreement was made by the State with the Malignant Party , and then Colonell *Montgomerie* was appointed to march towards them with some Forces under his command to require their conjunction , but before he came the length of *Sterlin*, Major Generall *Lambert* with a strong Body of horse had come to *Hamilton*, where he was fought against by the Western Forces, (though they were far inferiour in number) and many were killed of the Enemy on the place, but with the losse of the Day, and dissipation of the Western Forces, which put an end to many groundlesse jealousies.

DECLARATION.

THe fourth step they set it down in these words , *And to heighten differences yet more and more under fair pretences of exonerating their own consciences, and obtaining more clearnesse in the quarrell against the enemy, many whose intentions were honest were abused and drawn in the snare of a Remonstrance, whereby the owning of the Kings just Interest agreed unto by the Generall Assembly and the Parliament was expressly laid aside, and his removal from the exercise of his Royall Power and Government, advised to the Committee of Estates, the authority of the Committee of Estates much weakened, and a way of holding up a constant division from State and Kirk therein moulded.*

DEFENCE.

IT is strange that these who maintain the Publick Resolutions, should judge it want of charity to accompt some men Malignants, notwithstanding their actions do evidently declare it, and yet do think it no breach of charity in themselves to judge other mens hearts and thoughts, contrary to their declared intentions, and whole tenour of their actions. If these men pretend to exoner their consciences, and seek more clearnesse in the state of the quarrell, when yet they did intend no such thing, but their reall purpose was, to advance the Adversaries Cause; Surely it was a grievous and intollerable provocation before the Lord, which he will finde out, that he may take vengeance of such hypocriticall inventions and gross dissimulation; but if their hearts were straight before him in all these things (of which they have a witness in Heaven, a Record in their own breasts, and their actions in adventuring their lives against the Enemy as a testimony before the world) they do them wrong who speak so of them, which is the more piercing, because it proceeds from some of these who were once as their guide, their acquaintance with whom they took sweet counsell together in the Work of God, and walked into the house of God in company, and yet do now allow them lesse charity, and give them lesse trust in their solemn and publick Professions in these things that relate to their consciences and the publick Work, then they do to the greatest Malignants in the Land, and the bloodie murderers who followed *James Graham*: for they will have these upon their verbal professions to be accompted true penitents, and are filled with indignation against any who speak or write otherwise of them; but to mend the matter, and that they may not provoke too many of their old friends at once, they tell us, that the intentions of many who were honest, were abused and drawn in the snare. They would do a great favour to the whole Land, especially to simple ones, if they would be pleased once to condescend by name and surname, upon the subtilt ensnaring men that do abuse others, that they might be known and avoided. For these who were at the compiling of that Remonstrance, I know many of them to be men of great and good parts, but I know none of them that are very skilfull in drawing circles in the dark, and conjuring other men unawares within the compasse thereof; they are open ingenuous

ingenuous men, whose hearts and designs have alwayes been read in their professions and expressions, and these whom they call the abused and ensnared ones, are more intelligent and discerning men, then to be easily deceived; they are many of them eminent for grace and abilities, and such as have approved themselves in special trusts and employments relating to the Cause and Kingdome. It is true, that since the presenting of that Remonstrance, some of them did slip in a day of temptation, by passing from the same; but it is as true, that it is the matter of their humiliation for which they mourn before God, and some of them so much, that hardly can they be comforted. It is to me a great confirmation of the Remonstrance, that it was approved and accepted by the Lord as a necessary duty, that gracious men, who by the tentations of the time, and the perswasions of some whose judgements they respected, being drawn into a snare at *Sterline* to disclaim the Remonstrance, they were within very few dayes after, so challenged in conscience, that they had no peace of mind till they acknowledged their fault, and resolved to walk softly all their years in the bitterneffe of soul. The first thing that they challenge in the Remonstrance is, That the owning of the Kings just Interest, agreed unto by the Generall Assembly and the Parliament, was expressly laid aside, and his removall from the exercise of his Royall Power and Government advised to the Committee of Estates; but in this they do not deal fairly, not onely because they leave out the Reasons upon which this is offered to be considered by the Committee, which are very weighty and important; but also because they omit to tell, that the Gentlemen, Ministers, and Forces of the West, had no other meaning in the Remonstrance as to the Kings Interest, then what was expressed in the Declaration at the West Kirk of the 12. *August*, in the year 1650. In which the Committee of Estates, the Commission of the Kirk, and the Army, did unanimously joyn in their severall stations and capacities; in testimony whereof they were willing, and did often offer accordingly to clear and explain the same, if so be the Commission should forbear to give any sense upon it, and let un-biassed men judge if it was unreasonable to remonstrate this, upon the Kings deserting the Councils of State and Kirk, and joyning with the Malignant Party, contrary to the Covenant and Treaty. The next thing chal-

lenged is, That the authority of the Committee of Estates is thereby weakened; but it is not told how, belike it is meant because of the freedom that is therein used, in laying before them the sins and mis-carriages of sundry of these who were then in place and power, but the discovering and taking with of sin, doth not weaken but strengthen authority; that which hath provoked the Lord to dash our Judicatories in pieces, and to bring them to nothing, is, Because they have refused to take with their guiltinelle, and to *humble themselves under the mighty hand of God*. If the freedome that was used in the Remonstrance, in reference to Members of the Committee of Estates offend any, these four things would be remembred: 1. That what is therein represented, is known and undeniable truth: 2. That the Lord was calling thereto by his most dreadful stroaks: 3. That many were hardning and habtuating themselves in sin. 4. That the men who spoke, were about, to lay down their lives, and therefore took liberty to speak all their hearts, that they might exoner themselves, and leave it as their testimony wth others. The third is, that a way of holding up a constant division from State and Kirk is therein moulded, but nothing is said to make out this; and though some of the Remonstrators be judged and called subtle and designing men, yet as they did intend no such thing, so do I doubt exceedngly if they be so quick-sighted as to see the strength of this inference that is made upon it; for my part, I see it not, and am content to be ignorant of it, untill it shall be discovered unto me.

DECLARATION.

THe fifth step is, *When notwithstanding of this perillous practice, all means of union of Forces, and healing of the breach was endeavoured by Church and State, yet union could not be had, except upon such conditions as the State and Church could neither in honour nor in conscience grant; whereby and through the dissipation of these Forces which adhered to the Remonstrance at Hamilton, the State and Church were necessitated either to render all up to the present rage of a perfidious and prevalent Enemy, or to make use of such as had been formerly received to repentance for their sinfull courses, and admit others to repentance, from whom satisfaction might be gotten, agreeable to the Rules*

of the General Assembly, that all together might be employed for the just and necessary defence of the Cause and Kingdom, their naturall interest, obligations and solemn ties by Covenant calling for the same.

DEFENCE.

LET it be considered what these conditions were which the Church and State could neither in honour nor conscience grant. As for the Kings exercising of his power, the Remonstrators did declare, that they had in humility propounded their judgment and the reasons thereof unto the Committee of Estates; but it was in their power to hearken unto them, and to do so, yea or no, as they thought fit; and that if they should not be pleased, still to debar the King from the exercise of his power, as he had been formerly, they would not refuse to live peaceably under him, as the Magistrat of the Land, only two things they did desire in order to their uniting with the Forces of the Kingdom: 1. That the quarrell upon which they fought, might be stated as in the Declaration of the 13. of *Aug.* 1650. 2. That there might be one to command the Forces, qualified according to the solemn Engagement unto duties, to wit, of a blameless and Christian conversation, and of known integrity and constant affection to the Cause of God; both which conditions were refused. Now, I would fain know a reason why these things might not be condescended unto in honor and conscience. Was it lesse honour or conscience to state the quarrel in *November* 1650. according to the foresaid Declaration, then it was to state it in *August* immediately preceding? Had any thing occurred in order to the King for altering the state of the quarrell, and making it more favourable as to him, or rather, was there not something to the contrary, to wit, his deserting of the Judicatories, giving of Commissions to the Malignants, and joyning with them? Or was it contrary to honour and conscience to satisfy them in the other? Or did not both honour and conscience binde them to it? As to the employing of the Malignant Party, there is so much said in a particular Treatise to demonstrate the sinfulness of it, as also that there was no necessity for it, that I shall not now insist upon it, only I desire that to be taken notice of, which they say of making use of such as had been formerly received to repentance

rance for their sinfull courses, and admitting others to repentance from whom satisfaction might be gotten, agreeable to the Rules of the Generall Assembly, that all together might be employed. Which words import, that as they did require repentance in all these who were formerly excluded, and were now to be employed; so also that care was taken to receive none but such as satisfied according to the Rules of the Generall Assembly, both which are spoken *gratis*, and without ground. The first, because in answer to the *Quere*, and in the Warning penned for the strengthening of it (which two were the foundations of employing these men) there is no word of repentance, or satisfaction as necessary requisites in these who were to be employed in the defence of the Kingdom, and of the Cause, but the exceptions in the Answer exclude onely excommunicated persons forefaulted, notoriously profane, or flagitious, and such as have been from the beginning, and continue still, or are at this time obstinate and professed enemies and opposers of the Covenant and Cause of GOD; and most, if not all the Arguments in the Warning run for employing all men who are Subjects without any such qualification. The last because the order prescribed by the Gen. Assembly was not kept in receiving of them: That Order (as is evident from the Act of the Assembly 49. concerning the receiving of Engagers) is, "That because many heretofore have made shew and profession of their Repentance, who were not convinced of their guiltinesse, nor humbled for the same, but did thereafter return with the dog to the vomite, and with the sow to the puddle, unto the mocking of GOD, and the exceeding great reproach and detriment of his Cause: Therefore for the better determining the truth & sincerity of the repentance of those who desire to be admitted to the Covenant and Communion, It is appointed & ordained, that none of those persons who are debarred from the Covenant and Communion shal be admitted and received thereto, but such as after exact tryal shall be found for some competent time, before or after the offer of their repentance, according to the discretion of the respective Judicatories, to have in their ordinary conversations given reall testimony of their dislike of the late unlawful Engagement, and of the courses and wayes of Malignants, and of their sorrow for their accession to the same, and to live soberly, righteously and godly; and if any shall

"shall be found, who after the defeating of the Engagers, have uttered any malignant speeches tending to the approbation of the late unlawfull Engagement, or the bloudshed within the Kingdom for promoting of the ends of the said Engagement, or any other projects or practises within or without the Kingdom, prejudicial to Religion and the Covenant, or tending to the reproach of the Ministry, or the Civil Government of the Kingdom; or who have unnecessarily or ordinarily conversed with malignants and disaffected persons, or who have had hand in, or accession to, or compliance with, or have any wayes countenanced or promoted any malignant design, prejudiciall to Religion and the Covenant, that these, notwithstanding their profession of repentance be not suddenly received, but a competent time, according to the discretion of the Judicatory be assigned to them for tryal of the evidence of their repentance, according to the qualifications above-mentioned.

Now let Consciences speak, whether this order in receiving these men was observed yea, or not; yea, it was so far from it, that they were received without such evidences in a very rash and precipitant way, unto the most manifest mocking of Repentance that hath been heard or seen in any Church in the world, many of them flouting and jeering at the Judicatories of the Kirk, and one at another, and making sports of their Confessions amongst their companions, and giving as much evidence of their malignancy and prophanity and hating of godliness in their speeches and carriage as of before: Did not the Commission make such hast to receive these who had broken out in Rebellion, and risen in Arms against the Cause and Kingdom after *Dumbar*, that notwithstanding they had once by an Act remitted them all for censure to the Gen. Assembly, and intimated the same to Presbyteries, that they might not be admitted to the renewing of the Covenant or Communion, till the Assembly should judge of their case; yet they did after the Answer to the Quere make a new Act for receiving them, to the great offence of the godly, and exposing of their own Authority to contempt and reproach.

DECLARATION.

THe 6. Step is set down thus, *Notwithstanding some men had thus occasioned the making up of our Forces as they now are, yet not only did they themselves refuse to joyn with them, but opposed by all means possible the raising of the Army according to Publick Resolutions, What by preaching, What by Writing, What by branding honest men (many of Whom did bear the burden and heat of the day when others were not) with the odious imputations of back-siding, Covenant-breaking, and what not? Publick Fasts were separated from and condemned, Factions drawn amongst the People; in a word, no means were left unessayed to make Publick Resolutions in order to the raising of the Army ineffectual, without holding forth any possible or probable means for the relief of the Kingdom: All which (What ever have been the intentions of men) do of their own nature contribute no lesse effectually to the delivering up of all to the will of the Enemy Without stroke of sword, then if it had been purposely intended.*

DEFENCE.

PRejudice stretcheth far to reach a blow. Albeit it is here asserted that some men did by all means possible oppose the raising of the Army, according to the Publick Resolutions, and that they left no means unessayed to make these Resolutions ineffectual for raising of the Army, yet they must be the men who thus occasioned the making up of the Army as it was: How this should be I do not well know, unless it was by an *Antiperistasis*, as heat sometimes occasions cold, and cold, heat; or, as the preaching of the Gospel occasions war upon the earth. It is like enough that the Testimony which was born against that way did irritate mens corruptions and make them more violent and head-strong in the prosecution of the same. But their meaning happily is, That these men did oppose the union of the Forces, or would not suffer others to rife for the defence of the Kingdom and Cause, and so put the Committee of Estates upon a necessity of employing of these. To joyning of the Forces we have spoke before, and shewed upon what terms they were willing to have joyned, and that there never came to them any Order or Command from the State for conjunction, and for the other, until there was stumbling-blocks put in their way by the Publick Resolutions; they were so far from hindring any, against whom there was not just exception, they

were willing to employ themselves to the utmost in defence of the Cause and Kingdom, and gave abundant proof thereof from the time they first took up Arms until the month of *December*, that the Lord was pleased in his wise dispensation to break them at *Hamilton*. The Publick Resolutions being contrary to the Word of God, and to the Covenant, and to the Actings and Proceedings of both Kirk and State in the Cause these many years past, and involving so sudden and gross a change both of Principles and Practice, gave occasion to many gracious ones throughout the Land to stumble, and to many Ministers to bear Testimony against them both by preaching, and by writing their minds to the Commission of the Kirk, and to others of their Brethren as they had opportunity: Upon which occasion also it was that many were necessitated to withdraw from such Fasts as did involve an approbation of these Resolutions; and what was in all this but duty? May not, yea, ought not the servants of God, Ministers and People bear testimony against declining and backsliding, and study to keep their own garments pure, and refuse to say a confederacy to wicked men in the Interests and Cause of God. It is a shrewd insinuation that is made of their drawing factions amongst the People, as if they had stirred the People to sedition, or to tumults: The utmost length which Ministers went, was to hold forth the sinfulness of that course, how contrary it was to our former Principles, how it would help to hasten on more wrath; or if it did seem to prosper, how dangerous it would prove to the Cause and People of God by setting up of such as had been, and still were adversaries to both; and the greatest length which People went, was, To profess their dislike thereof, and without tumult or faction to withdraw, or in a sober and modest way to refuse to concur, because they had no clearness nor satisfaction in their consciences concerning these Resolutions; withal, they did clearly declare their judgments against the Invasion, and for the defence of the Cause and their Country, and their readiness to concur in all lawful means, according to the Word and former Principles for that end. If any who had been formerly honest, and born any part of the burden and heat of the day, were branded as back-sliders, it was not so much by Dissenters from the Publick Resolutions, as by the multitude of that generation with whom they did associat, I mean the Malignants who did not spare openly and every where to say, That

these honest men were now come to them; as for others, though they cannot so vindicate themselves as to say that there is none amongst them who doth at any time speak rashly, or unadvisedly with his lips, yet the Lord knows it was the grief of their hearts, that honest men should have fallen from their integrity; and though they could not chuse but bear Testimony against their sin, yet they did it as afflicted in spirit, keeping reverence, respect, and affection unto the men themselves; and had the injury been private, they would most willingly have covered the shame thereof, but it was publick, and such as did relate to the publick Cause, and wherein their consent and concurrence was desired, and therefore they were forced to speak, and not to suffer sin upon themselves nor upon their Brethren. There is yet one thing remains, That whilst no means were left untrayed for making of Publick Resolutions, ineffectual that no possible nor probable mean was holden forth for the relief of the Kingdom; if it be meant as to the time when these Resolutions were first taken by the Commissions Answer to the Parliaments Quære, there could nothing of that kind be then holden forth by such as are dissatisfied with these Resolutions, because few or none of them were present, advertisements not being so much as sent to many of them, and the time being so short that others could not come upon the advertisements which were sent to them. The advertisement came to *Sterline* upon the Tuesday to be dispatched unto all the Presbyteries in the West, that their Commissioners might keep at *Perth* upon the Thursday immediately following, which day could not probably be but past before the advertisement came at most of them, it being in the depth of the winter-season when the day was at the shortest, and by such bearers as was not fixed, or sent of purpose, but by such as were occasionally going to those places for other business: yea, suppose the utmost diligence imaginable had been used, it had not been possible to send these Advertisements from *Sterline* to the Commissioners of these Presbyteries in the West, in so short a time, and these Commissioners thereupon to have kept the Diet at *Perth*, as any who knows the distance of these places, will easily acknowledge, it being above forty miles betwixt *Perth* and *Glasgow*, which is the nearest of the Presbyteries of the West, the rest of them being a good deal more remote, some of them three or fourscore miles: And if it be meant, that after the taking of these Re-

DECLARATION.

THe last step is set down in this answer to the Protestation; but because it is ushered in with a large Preface that is not mentioned in this Answer, therefore I shall speak somewhat also to that, the words are these. *Notwithstanding of all which intencies, The Commission of the last Generall Assembly carryed themselves with much clemencie towards their chief opposers, not onely forbearing to censure them, though it was within the bounds of their Commission so to have done, but also lest their own Presbyteries should have proceeded to severity to censure, they appointed to cite them to the Generall Assembly, that after calm debating of the matter, and liberty given them to propound the grounds of their dissatisfaction to the full, they might either receive satisfaction, or otherwayes such courtes for healing might be taken, as the Generall Assembly in their tenderness towards pietie, and those who are pious, and in zeal to the distressed Cause and Kingdom, should think fit; but they unwilling to have their opinions brought to the touch-stone of the Word of God, and solid reason in a free Gen. Assembly, did content themselves to have protested against the Act of the Gen. Assembly, approving the proceedings of the Commission of the Kirk, if so be after debating on both hands, such an Act should have been made: but before the main point of difference was so much as once debated, far less any conclusion past upon it, some of them did protest against the determination of the Assembly in that particular, as if they had stood in no need of further information from the debates of learned and gracious men which were to be had upon it in the face of the General Assembly and others of them by an unparalleled practice (except that of the perfidious Prelates at the Generall Assembly at Glasgow, who minde the overthrow of all Assemblies for ever) did absolutely decline the authoritie of the Generall Assembly, protesting against it as null, &c.*

DEFENCE.

IT is in the first place denied, That the Commission of the Generall Assembly had any power at all to censure any of these who did oppose these publick Resolutions, because their power as it was only in things committed unto them by the Assembly, so were they

to walk in the administration thereof, and to exercise the same according to the Acts and Constitutions of this Kirk ; but there was then no Act nor Constitution of this Kirk appointing the opposers of such Resolutions to be censured, that Vindication to much cryed up in this Review, doth acknowledge, that these Resolutions were *indeterminati juris*, or things not then determined in Law by any Act or Constitution of this Kirk, and therefore seems to yeeld, that the Commission had no power to censure the opposers of them; yea, there are many Acts and Constitutions of this Kirk, as hath been often shewed, expressly condemning these Resolutions, and ordaining and appointing Ministers under the pain of censures, not to be silent, but to bear testimony against the same, as will appear to any who shall be at the pains to read the Acts, Warnings and Declarations of Assemblies, especially since the late Reformation. What their clemencie was in the exercise of that presumed power, is holden forth in the Answer to the Vindication of the Assembly at *St. Andrews* and *Dundee*, in which is shewed from their own Records, that they did not only emit and send abroad Warnings to be read amongst the People, wherein they did apply most of the Characters of the old Malignants to such as were unsatisfied with, and did bear testimony against these Resolutions; but also did declare them to deserve censure by the Civill Magistrate, and stirred up the Magistrate to inflict that deserved censure, and made Acts and sent to all the Presbyteries, requiring and appointing them to censure the opposers of these Resolutions within their bounds; and as to the citing them to the Generall Assembly, lest their own Presbyteries should have proceeded against them. I confesse it would almost stir a patient spirit to hear such things asserted. If they did not intend that Presbyteries should censure them, why did they long before that time make an Act, and send it to Presbyteries, requiring and appointing them to censure them without any limitation of the censure, as to the point of severitie. 2. Was there so much as a title of that reason in their Act, for summoning of them to the Assembly, or for forbearing to proceed in the Processe of any whom they were begun to proceffe. 3. It is more notoriously known, then can be gotten warrantably denied, That that citation was not in order to that end; but that they might be secluded from being Commissioners to the Assembly, or sitting therein as Judges of the Publick Resolutions. 4. There were but few Presbyteries

byteries who had then come that length, as to proceed to any censure against such ; and many Presbyteries were of the judgment, that such as were for the Publick Resolutions, deserved to be censured, and not the opposers of these Resolutions, yet that Order for citation was sent to all the Presbyteries in the Land. 5. The cure seems as evill if not worse then the disease, to cite them before the Assembly, was to put them on the Stage before the Supreme and most Publick Judicatory in the Land, as guilty and worthy to be censured in the most Publck way, if they could expect nothing but severitie of their Presbyteries, in many of which they had many of the same mind with themselves, (yea, in many the plurality was of their judgment) what could they expect in the Assembly, from which almost all such were excluded by the Letter and Act of the Commission prelimiting Elections. The Assemblies proceedings did make it manifest what courtesie they found there, some of them being actually censured with Suspension, and others with Deposition; and a foundation laid, & Acts made for censuring all of them. 6. It was strange that they should be cited to the Assembly to receive satisfaction, when the Assembly had not yet concluded, that what they did hold, was wrong, and contrary to truth and sound doctrine ; sure the Commission having no former Act of any former Assembly approving of these Resolutions, as is acknowledged by the Author of that Vindication ; they did fish too far before the net, to cite men to the Assembly, to receive satisfaction thereant. This savours too much of pains taken and endeavours used, to prelimit the Assembly, and modell it after their own mind. That some did protest against the approving of the Proceedings of the Commission of the Kirk, before the Assembly did make any Act ratifying the same, was not from any unwillingnesse to have their proceedings tryed by the touch-stone of the Word, or to receive light from any gracious & godly in that Meeting ; but upon perswasion that these Resolutions were contrary to the Word, and that the far greater part of the Members of that Meeting, had upon the matter gone very far to declare themselves as to the approving of these things before the tryall of them, because it being objected against these Members of the Assembly, who were Members of the Commission, that they had carryed on a course of defection, and it being offered to verifie the same, and thereupon desired, that these Commissioners might not be admitted to sit as Members in the Assembly,

sembly, till that matter were tryed; it was refused, and notwithstanding of the exception timeously propounded and offered to be instructed; they were before the taking tryall thereof, allowed to sit, which was in effect to reject the exception, either as irrelevant in Law, or as false in fact, and so to approve them before tryall; yea, they were admitted to sit as Judges in their own cause; for the Protestation being particularly founded on the sinfulness and unwarrantableness of their proceedings, yet they were allowed to sit as Judges, and to condemne the Protestation as destructive to the Government and Liberties of this Kirk, and censurable with the highest censure thereof. Upon the 23 of July 1651. notwithstanding their proceedings were not approved till the day after, which was the 24.

That others of them did absolutely decline the authority of that Assembly, and protest against it as null, was a practice that hath many commendable and praise-worthy parallels in this Church; and therefore they do speak more from their own spirit, then from the spirit of truth, who cry out, that it hath no parallel, but that of the perfidious Prelats. The Declinatours of the Prelats against the Assembly at *Glasgow* 1638. as any who pleaseth to read the same will find, that it doth strike at the root of Presbyteriall Government and Generall Assemblies, in regard of the essentials of their constitution; but the Protestation doth acknowledge and plead for the Government, and for the due liberty and freedom, and right constitution of Assemblies, according to the rule of the Word of God, and Acts of this Kirk, and doth only bear testimony against, and decline that Assembly, because of unwarrantable prelimiting of the Elections, admitting of persons under scandal before trying of them; admitting of the same men to be both Judges and Parties, want of free access and recess, absence of many Commissioners, want of freedom in voicing, denying to hear what was offered for, holding forth of light, whereby it appears that there is little conscience and ingenuitie, and lesse charity in making of that parallel. But the History and Acts of our Church do furnish us many just and true parallels of this practice in the carriage of the faithfull witnesses of our Lord, in our own and our fathers dayes, who have stood to plead for the Doctrine, Government, Worship and Discipline of this Kirk: I shall onely name a few: The first is in the year 1597. at which time the Commissioners of the Generall Assembly having

having contrary to the trust committed to them in these intervalls betwixt Assemblies, petitioned and obtained from the King and Estates of the Kingdom, that Ministers should sit in Parliament as the third Estate (which was the foundation of our Prelacie) their proceedings in that Petition, and the things relating thereto being approven in the Assembly by the prevailing influence of the King, and these Commissioners, notwithstanding of the reasons propounded against the same by sundry of the Ministerie, *Mr. John Davidson* a molt worthy and pious Minister of this Church, indued with the spirit of Prophecie in many things, and as anti-prelat-call, and truly tender of Presbyteriall Government, and of the authoritie of Assemblies, as any this Church hath brought forth, did solemnly protest against that Assembly, as not free and lawfull; to which Protestation *Mr. David Calderwood* a strenuous maintainer of the Government of this Church, and a constant adversary to Prelats, & an unsuspect witnes in this present controversie, declareth in his story; his own adherence & the adherence of many of the most sincere Pastors and Professors of this Kirk, as seeing the beginning, and fearing the growth of that defection. Likeas he did often from that experience, expresse his fears, and thereupon his opinion against putting too much power in the hands of a Commission, and prognosticated a defection to ensue thereupon, whentoever the King and the Court should have influence upon the leading men thereof, concerning which he hath not been mistaken.

2. Did not many worthie Pastors and Professors of this Church, protest against the corrupt Assemblies, annulled by the Assembly at *Glasgow*, sundry of which Protestations are to be seen in the Book, called, *The course of Conformity*. Let our Predecessours Supplications, Reasons, Admonitions; Protestations presented to the Parliament 1617 and 1621, be considered, wherein they assert the Assemblies then controverted, to be unlawfully constituted, and to be but pretended Assemblies, though no authority had declared the same. See also the Observations Printed 1635, with the grievances given in by the Ministers to the Parliament 1633, It is here well said, that *the safety of Religion dependeth not upon Assemblies of whatsoever kind, but upon the liberty of free and right constitute Assemblies, as in the Commonweal, he were not to be thought a faithful Patriot who would not stand as much for the liberty of a Parliament, as his own possessions, because the safetie of all other liberties standeth in the preser-*

preservation of that main Liberty. 3. did not these whose spirits the Lord stirred up to appear against the Prelates, and to set on foot the Work of Reformation in the year 1637. expressly declare their adherence to all these Protestations made by their Fathers and Predecessors, declaring the nullity of these corrupt Assemblies, and thereby establishing the Declinatours against the same before the Assembly at *Glasgow*, which practice was as strangely looked upon, and as much spoken against then, as the practice of the Protesters in the year 1651. 4. Our Nationall Covenant doth both mention and allow these Protestations against that whole course of Defection, whence it appears, that that practice at *Dundee* hath many, both very worthy Precedents and Parallels; and that to protest against corrupt Assemblies (such as that was) hath been so far from being looked upon by discerning faithfull and godly men in this Kirk, as *the throwing down of the hedge of Discipline, and making way for every beast of the forrest to break in*, as this Reviewer alleadgeth, that they have used it as one of the best means for preventing and remedying of these evils, and so it is indeed, because as it is well observed; and truly Asserted in the great Act of the Assembly, concerning the bygone evils of this Church, and the Remedies thereof, that the keeeping or authorizing of corrupt Generall Assemblies hath been one of the main causes of our evils; by these it was that the Prelates, and all the train of superstitious Ceremonies did enter, and having had such worthy precedents, in opposing of such and such doolful and dear bought experiences of the wrong they have done to this poor Church, there is the greater reason to take heed to stand fast in the liberty wherewith **CHRIST** hath made us free, and not to be again entangled with the yoke of bondage of corrupt Assemblies.

It is added, *that the grounds of that Protestation at St. Andrews are frivolous and false, and such as makes the Authority of all the Assemblies of this Kirk since the begun Reformation to be called into question upon the same or the like pretences*; and for making out this, the Author of this Refutation remits his Readers to a piece, Intituled, *A Vindication of the late Generall Assembly which he doth here commend as modest, solide, and judicious*, and afterwards, as a piece not yet answered, nor easily answerable. It

were a great deal more convincing and commendable to demonstrate the grounds of that Protestation to be false and frivolous than to call them so, and do no more: That Vindication hath indeed in it more modesty and solidity and judgement and nerves than this Refutation and Review; as we acknowledge a difference betwixt the men from whom these proceeded, so also betwixt their writings, yet if even indifferent men be not mistaken, it wants much of that modesty that had been suitable, and that solidity and judgement and nerves are in it: As to the Vindicating of the freedom and authority of that Assembly, and shewing the frivolousness and falshood of the grounds of the Protestation against the same, may appear by reading and pondering of the Review of that Vindication, in which the strength and truth of the grounds of the Protestation are convincingly established and cleared, and the many great mistakes of the Author of that Vindication, both in matters of judgement and matters of fact are discovered, and the Protesters eased of the burden of many heavy things laid upon them. I might say more for that Review, but it needeth not my commendation: I suppose it shall not want that from Adversaries. As to that which this Refuter saith of the *divels design of division*; I shall easily grant that division amongst Brethren is an evil thing, in which the divell hath indeed a design, and an active hand, but that subtle serpent sometimes gains by Union as well as by division, and therefore is Satan as loath to be divided against Satan as he is desirous to divide the Children of God amongst themselves, and when he gets a multitude going in a wrong way, he can as much plead for Union and Peace, and against division as any. As it hath been the grief of the Protesters souls to see their Brethren divide from their former good and sound Principles, so did they, and do hold themselves bound to adhere and cleave thereto, though never so many should forsake them therein, and cry out upon them because they wil not follow a multitude to do evil. There is in the same place a despightfull exaggeration of the giving in, and publishing of the Protestation against the last Assembly at *Edinburgh*, as an *Act of Satans in which he did add violence to despight*, &c. It is not good to meet reproach with reproach; I shall onely say that what the Protesters did therein, they did it with sad hearts, and not till a necessity of duty did constrain them thereunto, because of a most wilfull

wilfull and peremptory refusall of any Conference in order to Union and peace, before the assuming of the power of an Assembly, notwithstanding that the same was most earnestly desired, and much pressed, not onely by the Protesters themselves, but also by some of the most judicious godly and eminent men of that Meeting, and after that it was clearly holden forth to have been agreeable to the practise of former Assemblies, and that it could have brought no apparent prejudice to the cause of these who were most zealous for the sitting of the Assembly, unlesse it was to have put them to the charges of staying some few dayes longer in the Town. It is well he acknowledges that *it was done by men who were eminent in our Assemblies.* It seems when a testimony to their eminency in Assemblies can contribute for the aggravation of the supposed offence, his heart can give it unto them; but when the denying can make for weakening their cause he can studiously depreesse them, and study so far to undervalue them, as that men should accompt them nothing, as he doth in the 12. page of his Pamphlet. It is indeed true, that not a few of these who had hand in that Protestation have been in our Assemblies, and upon the accompt of this mercy among others, they did hold themselves the more bound to plead for the freedome of Assemblies, and to bear testimony against the corrupt ones at *St. Andrews* and *Edinburgh*. That it was done in *the City of our solemnities, and in the face of the Assembly,* was because, where the carcase is, thither will the Eagles resort; the trespass was there, and so behoved the testimony be there also. That it was put to the Presse albeit I see not the fault in so doing, they against whom it was given in, having now constituted themselves, and being sitting openly and avowed y in an Assembly, yet I am confident there was no resolution taken, nor order given by the Meeting of the Protesters for so doing; But private Copies were taken, and who was obliged to hinder such as pleased to cause print it; when some of the number heard that it was in Printing, they desired and endeavoured that it might be stopped, till they should see the issue of the conference, that then was betwixt some few of both sides; the Copies were not published till the next day after, that conference was broken off, and business as to that time rendered in all appearance hopeles as to an agreement, because the Assembly had now passed an Act for ratifying

tifying the proceedings of the Commissioners appointed by the Assembly at *Dundee*, which did include the Publick Resolutions, and had also signified what length they meant to go in order to the differences betwixt us and them, which was onely to take censures off these Brethren who had been censured by the Assembly at *Dundee* because of their Protesting, and to declare that others involved therein, and in the Protestation against the Assembly at *Edinburgh* should not be censured, providing that they would judicially under their hands passe from these Protestations, and engage themselves to forbear meddling in the grounds of these differences, by Preaching, Writing, or otherwise, which did import a standing of all these Acts at *Dundee* concerning the Publick Resolutions, and the opposers of the same, and a passing from, and revoking of all the Testimonies given against the Lands backsliding, and an engagement to forbear for ever hereafter; to say that Kirk or State had sinned in these Resolutions, and these were *the bowels of Christian Condescendence*, of which this Member of that Assembly at *Edinburgh* speaks, the sum whereof is a pardon upou Repentance, or rather an hire upon Compliance, a forbearing to afflict and persecute any more, providing that we will abandone the Truth, and call good evill, and evill good; but we dare not be accessory to the receiving such wages of unrighteousnesse, let us rather suffer then sin, and lye under, or be put under censures with a good Conscience, then be freed from them with an evill conscience.

I have now answered what is said, against the Protesters, in that Declaration of the pretended Assembly at *Dundee*, which this Reviewer and Refuter mentioneth with so great commendation and applause; And seeing these who have declined from their former Principles, have made it their work to endeavour to discover steps of defection in those who have witnessed and protested against the Defection that hath been in this Land; which was the usual way of the Prelats against Non-conformists in former times. I shall, for making a clear discovery, go nearer to the spring-head and rise of our differences, then this Reviewer and his friends of the pretended Assembly have done, who would shroud themselves in some particular windings and turnings of affairs, by which they would amuse simple understandings, but they keep a great distance from the fountain and begining of our divisions, and are loth to remem-
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ber where we were once, and wherefore we parted : Therefore I shall shortly set forth some few steps of the late Defection and declinings from our former principles, and let indifferent men judge who have been the Authors, and are to this day the Abettors thereof. Since the time that the Lord began a work of Reformation, in the year 1637. there hath been a constant harmony amongst the Lords People, and in all Proceedings, Declarations, and Publick Actings of State and Kirk, great unanimity against the Malignant party and their Interests : And though in the year 1648. the State declined, yet the Kirk, and body of zealous Professors in the Land, remained stedfast in their principles ; and after the defeat of the Forces that went into *England*, the whole Land did for their further confirmation in the Lords wayes, enter into a solemn Acknowledgment of sins, and Engagement to duties, at the renewing of the Covenant, which was about the end of that year. In the year 1649. there was great concord betwixt Kirk and State, both adhering to their Principles, and the Lord wonderfully blessed their Councils and Forces ; as also in the beginning of the year 1650. And whatever secret under-hand dealings there were for the promoting the Malignant Interest and Conjunction with that party, yet it was little known to the far greater part in Judicatories of State and Kirk, who (I am confident) went on in the simplicity of their hearts in their proceedings, studiously desirous to avoid the splitting on the rock of Malignancy, as well as the rock on the other hand.

The first visible step of declining that was taken notice of by the generality of zealous Professors in the Land, was that transaction made at *Bredah* with the King, by the Commissioners of State and Kirk, expressly contrary to their Instructions : and notwithstanding both State and Kirk did unanimously signify their great dissatisfaction therewith, and declared against the said agreement in many particulars, especially in reference to Malignant Interests and designs, and conjunction with that Party ; all which was made known to the said Commissioners by Letters and Declarations from State and Kirk, which were delivered unto them before the Kings coming from *Holland*, yet without so much as acquainting the King therewith, they brought him on shipboard, and alongs with him, the chief of the Scottish and English

English Malignants, known enemies to the Cause and Work of Reformation. (I do not charge all the Commissioners as equally sharers in the guilt of that sad transaction, for which the Land siffeth and lamenteth to this day, I know that such of them as had least hand therein, have been most ready to acknowledge their offence; and that these who were most guilty, do stand for their own justification, which aggravates their sin both before God and men) as to that which was done afterward, sad experience hath taught us, that it was but a pitifull after-game they made in their second Treaty, while the King was at Sea, immediately before his landing in *Scotland*, and it was so far from being a remedie, as it hath proved an in-let to further transgression and misery.

The second step of defection was, That these Commissioners when they were come home, being desirous to maintain their own credit, dealt not faithfully in giving a true accompt of their proceedings to the Parliament and Generall Assembly, but concealed many things of consequence; and smoothed and varnished their report of Proceedings with fair generalls, whereby both the Parliament and Generall Assembly were deceived; and induced to allow and ratifie their Proceedings.

The third step was, That when after *Dunbar*, the King had given Commission to the Malignant Party to rise in Arms, and upon their rising had deserted the Councils of State and Kirk, and gone away to joyn with that Party, the State did send for the King, and forthwith admit him to have the chief hand and Government in all their Councils and managing of Affairs, from which upon weighty considerations he had been still debarred formerly by the State, upon advice with the Kirk, and not many dayes after his return, matters were so conveyed, as an agreement was made with these wicked and bloody rebels; and not onely their present rebellion and band into which they had entered among themselves, but all their former transgressions were passed over by the State, and in that transaction also, there was a foundation laid for employment of them in places of trust. It is true; that the Commission of the Church gave some testimony against these proceedings, the consciences of diverse of that Meeting being then offended with so grosse declining, but afterward through the great

opposition they met with, were much blunted.

The fourth step was, That as the Kirk and State began to grow in their favour and respects towards the Malignant Party, this new friendship begat an alienation of their hearts from honest and faithfull men who gave testimony against these corruptions; for usually conjunction with Gods enemies is attended with persecution of his friends; and therefore the Western Forces being dissipated, and great hopes conceived of the assistance of the Malignant Party, both State and Kirk did condemne the Testimony given by the Gentlemen, Officers, and Ministers in the West, in their Remonstrance to the Committee of Estates; notwithstanding that in a Meeting of the Commission of the Kirk at *Stirling*, that Remonstrance was cleared and vindicated, and all objections against it were so fully answered by Members of the Commission, as the chief opposites thereof, had no more to say against it, but were silent; notwithstanding also that some of the Gentlemen gave in a Supplication to the Commission, wherein they desired, that before any censures passed thereupon, these that were concerned therein might be allowed a due hearing, and that a convenient diet might be appointed, at which they were very hopefull to remove all mistakes, and clear it from all sinister interpretations.

The fifth step was, That some leading men of the Commission did convene extraordinarily a small number of the Commission of the Kirk, few above a *Quorum*, to make an answer to the Parliaments *Quære*, viz. What persons ought to be employed in Arms for defence of the Kingdom; and slighted sending of timeous advertisement to such as they knew would oppose their designe of bringing in the Malignant Party, to be Guardians of the Cause and Kingdom, which formerly they had endeavoured to destroy, and with great haste and precipitation, concluded an answer to that *Quære*, and laid a foundation for present conjunction with the Malignant Party, contrary to the Word of God, and to the Covenant, and to our known principles clearly expressed in Acts and Declarations of this Kirk.

They did not rest here, but in the sixth place they put forth exhortations and Warnings, wherein they threatened all those who are unsatisfied with, or do oppose the Publick Resolutions with punishment.

punishments and censures to be inflicted by Judicatories, Civill and Ecclesiastick, respectively; Yea, they proceed further, to apply against such the Characters of Malignants, and to stir up the Civill Magistrate against them, and Presbyteries to censure them, and the Act which the Commission had made for referring the Malignants that had risen in Arms, to the next General Assembly: and in the mean while suspending them from the Sacrament, was by themselves revoked; and in their stead faithful Ministers of unquestioned integrity, who were unsatisfied in conscience with such Malignant proceedings, were appointed to be cited to the Assembly.

Neither was all this enough, but in the seventh place there must be yet a nearer and full conjunction with the Malignant Party, they were already advanced to chief places of trust in the Army; but the Acts of Claspis made against *James Grahame* late Earl of *Montrose* his bloody Complices and Associates, must be repealed and broken, and the Malignant Party advanced to the chief places of trust in the Land, Civill as well as Military; and in effect, to have the whole sway in Court, Parliament and Army. In this both Kirk and State did concur. It is true, that the Commission of the Kirk did in that transaction, require a Band of Lawborrows to be taken of the Malignants before their admission to sit in Parliament, obliging them not to endeavour the repealing former Acts made for Religion, and that they should not revenge themselves upon any for opposing or censuring them for their Malignant courses; but all the former Bands given by them for keeping the peace, were discharged, and all the penalties of them; and now all the certification and pain required in case they should fail, was, that they should be declared Malignants; and lose their places; a pretty fancie indeed to declare them Malignants. And who should declare it? The Act of Parliament saith, It must be first found by the Parliament, Committees of Estates, or Kings Privy Councell, that they have contravened this Band; and the far greatest part of them were known Malignants in all their wayes. No sooner was the Malignant Party admitted to Parliament, but forthwith all who would not concur for promoting the Publick Resolutions, were declared Enemies, their persons ordained to be imprisoned, and their estates confiscated, and in this they answered the expectation

Station of the Commission of the Kirk, published in their Warning March 1651. wherein they foretold, that *no doubt civil punishment would be inflicted by the Civil Magistrate.*

The eight step was, That the Commission of the Kirk, a subordinate Judicatorie, limited in their proceedings to the Acts of former Generall Assemblies, did take upon them to prelimit the elections of the ensuing Generall Assembly, by laying a foundation for debarring all such as had opposed their Resolutions (which the Author of the Vindication so much cryed up in this Pamphlet grants to be *contraversi juris*, and that they have not for their warrant the president and practice of any former Assembly) and for constituting the Assembly of men that were of their judgment, and had practised these Novations by them introduced, which is a preparative of so dangerous consequence, that being admitted, we cannot expect hereafter right constituted Assemblies, nor look that the purity and power of Religion shall be long continued among us; but the subordinat Judicatory being permitted in the Intervall betwixt Assemblies, to make rules for constituting the ensuing Generall Assembly, we may ere long be led back to Prelacy and Popery.

The ninth step is, That election of Commissioners being made generally in Presbyteries according to these prelimitations, and they being met at *St. Andrews*, did refuse the peaceable Overture made to them by these brethren who were unsatisfied with the Publick Resolutions, did admit persons under scandal, to sit as Judges, after exception made publicly against them; yea, did admit them to be both Judges and Party, and did according to the designed prelimitation, exclude faithfull and godly men, for their opposition to the Publick Resolutions; all which and much more is fully cleared in the Review of the Vindication of that Assembly.

The tenth step is, That the said pretended Assembly thus corruptly constituted, did ratifie and approve all the Publick Resolutions, censure godly and faithfull Ministers for their witnessing against these corruptions, and enact against the generality of zealous Professors within the Land, that all who did oppose, or after conference did not acquiesce in their determinations, should be proceeded against with the censures of the Kirk, and the Commission of that Assembly met at *Forfar 22 August*, did in their printed Warning, denounce *the heavy curse of God* against all that did not con-

cur in their Publick Resolutions, and appoint the same to be read in all Congregations on the Lords day, which if well considered, I suppose may be a parallel to the tyranny and usurpation of the Prelats, and in some respects above the same; for they did not injoyne the practice of the five Articles of *Perth*, under pain of censures and curses for diverse years after they were concluded in that pretended Assembly.

I shall now proceed in answering this Reviewer, who hath collected the summe of the Observations made in their Assembly upon their reading of the Protestation, and hath borrowed some things from the Author of the Vindication. Beside these, I finde nothing in him but frothy words and reproaches. He saith, he *will passe the Representation, and also wave the Propositions, because satisfactorily answered by the Assembly*: wherein he is greatly mistaken, for diverse of them are not answered at all, and others of them only with equivocations, for which let this one instance serve for the present, to wit, because we conceive their late proceedings relating to the Publick Resolutions, have obstructed and shaken the Work of Reformation, we desired that they would give assurance that they approve of the Acts of uncontraverted Assemblies, concerning receiving of Penitents. In their answer they leave out the word *uncontraverted*, and so include their late Assemblies Acts, which are the things we complain of. As for the Representation, he should have considered what himself saith in that same page, that in some cases a Protestation is lawfull; how can he then judge this Protestation unlawfull, which is grounded upon the refusal of the just desires made in that Representation without considering the same; but he may not stay: therefore he makes long steps that he may come soon at the Protestation, his words are these, *I shall God willing grapple with them in their arsenal of the Protestation it self, yet shortly glancing onely at some principall things,*

Quid dignum tanto tulit hic promissor biatu.

I shall not trouble my self with his vain boastings, but proceed to try what strength is in his Arguments.

PROTESTATION Reviewed.

V Here I begin with the Title. A Protestation which was given in against the Supreme Representative of this Kirk. Although I do not deny but that General Assemblies may err, and the Godly be so put to it as to have no remedy left them in Law but to protest, yet except the case be clear and sure, this course is one of the highest contempts of Ecclesiastick Authority; The last refuge for removing of scandals, being Mat. 18. 17. Tell the Church, after which nothing remaineth, but if he neglect to hear the Church let him be as a Heathen or a Publican; I trust whatsoever glosses others put on the Words, there is no difference betwixt our Brethren and us about the Exposition of them; and hence appeareth the equity of that Act and practice of our Assemblies, inflicting the highest censures on such, and reason, since they in the highest measure neglect to hear the Church; neither is there now any ulterior, or superior Judicatory to go to: But what if she or not, and whether she do or not, wherein have these men shewen their respect to their Mother, who what in them lyeth (but blessed be the LORD it lyeth not) would discover her nakedness, when others then Brethren are to behold it? Let them take heed if this be not a main step to separation (which in words they seem to abhor) when as they Protest and Profess they will not hear us, so they would cast on us a kinde of necessity to hold them as Heathens and Publicans; but to prevent this they have found a way of their own, and as (if they had not been of us) they are gone out from us, and setting up to do their own business without us, as they seem to intimate in the last page of their printed Paper after the Protestation, contrary to the very Fundamentals of the Discipline of our Kirk, which is and ever hath been professed to be by Presbyteries, Synods, and National Assemblies duely subordinate one to another, all which their course overturneth, while they walk in another way to make the matters of their Propositions practicable as they say: But besides that, a Protestation is at best (except in the case of pungent necessity) in its nature odious, it is so much worse in our Kirk, where we are tyed by the strictest Bonds both of the

Nationall and Solemn League and Covenant; against all divisive motions and courses; and I pray, what is this other then a divisive motion, and that of the deepest dye, for them to separate themselves, and joyning together make a party, When the Supreme Judicatories of Kirk and State were going on in their continued Actings in the day of great danger and distress? They may be pleased to remember their own Actings and speeches when G O D honoured them to be sitting in the Supreme Judicatories; how far short came the intended divisive Supplication in Anno 1648. of this course they are now on; nay, the very cross Petition in Anno 1642. both which some of them (I say some, for most of them are but of Yesterday, and had then no place in our Judicatories.) shewed so much zeal against.

PROTESTATION defended.

IF the Reviewer doth mean by the beginning of this Paragraph, which is darkly and ambiguously expressed, that an Assembly may be wrong in the constitution, and so no more to be an Assembly then a painted man is a man (as the Author of the Vindication so much cryed up, doth in that case yeeld) and that the godly in such a case have no remedy left them in Law, but to Protest against its constitution and Proceedings. Then he grants all that the Protesters desire, for the subumption and application falleth within his exception, the case being to their consciences clear and sure: But if he doth suppose that there can be no unfree unlawfull Assembly in the constitution thereof, and that the Remedy of Protestation is onely to be used against wrong acts, then he speaketh against Experience, and the known practice of the faithfull servants of G O D in this Kirk; I have given severall Precedents of this before, and the Acts of the Assembly 1638. and 1639. against the six corrupt Assemblies, do clearly demonstrate the same. Is it not as lawfull, and more necessary to Protest against a wrong Authoritie or usurpation as against wrong acts of a true Authority? For the first is far more dangerous to the Kirk every way then the second; He makes it one of the highest contempts of Ecclesiastick Authority, to protest when the case is not clear and sure, but he forgets to consider how great a transgression it is before the L O R D, and how injurious

injurious to his Work and people, to usurp the Supreme Authority of the Kirk over all the Judicatories thereof, to decree unrighteous decrees, and tyrannize over consciences: the sad consequences of such a course cannot be soon reckoned. As to that he argueth from *Mat. 18. 17. Tell the Church.* I answer, That the same Commandements of God that injoyn acknowledging of, and obedience to free and lawfull Generall Assemblies in the LORD, do *per negationem contrarii*, according to the generall rule of interpretation of Commands set down in our large Catechisme, require the not acknowledging, or keeping unfree and unlawfull Generall Assemblies; for where a duty is commanded, the contrary sin is forbidden, and so the command to hear the true Church requireth our not hearing a false or non-Church, within which an unfree, unlawfull, and corrupt Assembly doth fall; and therefore it is neither to be told nor heard, but to be declared, Protested against, and discovered in the nullities and corruptions thereof, as the Assemblies 1638 and 1639 have well judged. He alleadgeth an Act and practice of our Assemblies, but he neither mentions the Act nor Assembly where such a thing is to be found. There was never any Act made in this Church against declining of Assemblies as unfree or unlawfull or corrupt, the Act which he hinteth at upon misinformation (but as it seemeth hath never read) doth speak nothing of declining an Assembly, because of its constitution good or bad, but against appealing from the Kirk Judicatory in an Ecclesiastick cause to the Civill Magistrate, as is well known to all that have perused the Acts of Assemblies. It is respect to true Authority to decline usurpation, and it is a contempt, yea, in effect a Declinator of true Ecclesiastick Authority to acknowledge unlawfull intruders upon the same. It is not to the present case, to tell us that Divines say reverence is due to the Church when she erreth; the question is, whether the two late Assemblies be a lawfull Representative, yea, or no, and not about an Assembly lawfully constitute, and erring in their Proceedings: The learned Review of the Council of Trent, and the *gravamina contra Concilium tridentinum* made use of by the Generall Assembly at Glasgow against the B Shopp declinatur, do fully shew the judgement of Protestant Divines, for delining and Protesting against an Assembly not lawfully and rightly constituted.

stituted. *But what if she erre not*, saith he: I answer, that is sufficiently cleared in severall Treatises, which have been long since dispersed in Writing, and have come to the hands of many of the contrary judgement, but have never yet been answered by any of them; there is so little doubt amongst the most part of zealous Professors aient the sinfulness of the Publick Resolutions, as I need not here to dispute it. *But* (saith he) *whether She erre or not, wherein have these men shewen their respect and reverence to their Mother.* I Reply, that reverence to th^e true Mother maketh them disclaim such Step-Mothers; and I desire to hear it proved by good reason, what more right pretended Assemblies have to call themselves the Mother of all the People of God in this Church, then the Prelates had to call themselves our Spirituall Fathers: For that which he saith, *the Protesters would discover her nakedness, when others then Brethren are to behold it*: I shall give the same answer to it which was given to the like calumny, by our Protesting forefathers, in their Supplication to the Parliament 1621. recorded in the course of conformity; their words are these: *The reasons whereby we are upheld in our course and Protestations and just defence against the oppositions intended, are all made patent to the eyes of the World, no wayes to lay open the nakedness of our Mother to the scandal of the enemy, or justly to offend any otherwise minded, but that the multitude of our Professors be not tainted with the venome of maliciousnesse, contrary to the sincere Milk which they have received, &c.* In the next place he bids us take heed if this be not a main step to separation, that we refuse to hear them as the lawfull Representative Church: But we must take heed in the first place to another thing, *viz.* Not to separate from known and received Principles. The Declaration of the Assembly 1647 saith, that next to the changing of Principles, the changing of parties, the assisting of these whom we should suppress, and persecuting these whom we should assist; the joyning with these against whom the Covenant was made, and against these for whom it was made, is the great breach of Covenant, and separation from the Covenanted union which is held forth in the words of the Covenant, obliging us not to be divided and withdrawn from that blessed Union and conjunction by making de-
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fection to the contrary part, &c. Th. Nationall Covenant describeth these to be the Church of Scotland who agree with our first Reformers, in Doctrine, &c. The declaration of this Kirk made in 1648 saith, that our Union in the Covenant with G O D, his Cause and Peo; l^e, stands in keeping the Principles th^e root, and separation stands in defection therefrom. It is Declared by the Assembly that year, a Principle of our Cause, and necessary for security of Religion; that the Malignant Party be esteemed enemies to the Cause of G O D, and that association with them is contrary to the Word of G O D, and to the Covenant; so doth the Assembly 1649 in the Act against Engagers. Now I say, that these who are for the Publi^k Resolutions have changed some of their Principles, and also changed their party, for they have joyned with the Malignant party, and acts and censures for persecuting these with whom they were joyned before; where then lyes the guilt of Division? and who made the first steps to separation? *a Dea foedere & Ecclesia pristina Scotiana*; with whomsoever these things are found, let them be accounted separatists indeed. As for hearing them, and conferring with them in an extra-judiciall way, the Protesters have never declined it; but the hearing which they require, is to be acknowledged as the lawfull Representative of this Kirk and to be obeyed accordingly; and the Reviewer intimatieth, that there is a necessity of holding the Protesters as Heathens and Publicans; but that they have found out a way of their own to prevent it. An hard sentence indeed to excommunicate them all: What Exclamations of rigour had there been if such an expression had dropped from the Pen of a Protester? I shal say no more to it, but that this Reviewer hath a zeal of God, but not according to knowledge; He saith, the Protesters have gone out from them, and set up to do their own businesse alone, and overturn the Fundamentals of the Discipline of this Kirk; but he hath no better proof then the last page of that Paper wherein the Protestation was printed, which was no deed of the Meeting, nor did I ever hear that any Member of the Meeting doth own the Writing of that page. But what is the cryme he thus aggregeth? The Propositions given in to the pretended Assembly were such as they could make no just exception against them, and when they refused to grant the Protesters desires, what fault was there for Brethren

Brethren to recommend it one to another in their stations, to endeavour to put in execution Acts of uncontraverted Assemblies; yea, what they have done in order thereunto, was agreeable to the customs of this Kirk, and commendable in this corrupt and troubled estate thereof.

He is much mistaken when he saith, a Protestation is in its nature odious, and it argueth small knowledge of the state of the Kirk of *Scotland* in former times, to say it is worse in this Kirk then elsewhere; It is the mean which the Lord hath blessed in the hands of our Fathers, and our own to preserve the Cause of God, and his Kirk in times of Defection, as the Paper sent by the Clerk of the Assembly, and Procurator for the Kirk to their Meeting at St. *Andrews* doth sufficiently manifest. I desire this Reviewer may be pleased, to take a look of the Narrative of the solemn League and Covenant, and Nationall Covenant, where he will find Protestations reckoned as a mean for preservation of Religion, and so Protestation is no divisive way, but a lawfull endeavour to which we are tyed by Covenant; and in the 6. Article *what we are not able our selves to suppress or overcome, we are bound to reveal and make known, that it may be timely prevented or removed*: If he had considered well, it had been more for his advantage to have spared the mentioning the crosse Petition in 1642. and divisive Supplication in *Anno* 1648 both these were in favours of the Malignant Party and their Interest, and the Protestation which he so much inveigheth against, is against the Malignants and their Interest, so it was very agreeable to the Protesters Principles to be zealous against these Supplications. But I readily believe what this Reviewer professeth to be his judgment, *viz.* That the Protestation is to him a greater crime then the crosse Petition, or divisive Supplication, for most of these who now shew themselves hot *Zealots* against the Protestation were of a cold temper, when the crosse Petition and divisive Supplication were considered in Church Judicatories. He saith most of the Protesters are but of Yesterday; he might have said as much of all men, and spoken truly, but if he plead earnestly for age upon his side, I do yeeld him this much, that many of these who are for the Publick Resolutions are of that age that they entered into the Ministry in the time of the Prelates, and did swear conformity unto the Articles of *Perth*, and implicate obedience

bedience to their ordinary, and the like cannot be said of the Protesters, for either they were sufferers under the Prelates, or else they entred not into the Ministry till the Lord had in his gracious Providence opened a door by the Reformation.

PROTESTATION Reviewed.

AND thus passing the Title of it, We come to the matter, where following their own footsteps, we begin with the Narrative which they begin with, asserting, that its well known to divers of our number What peaceable endeavors they have used without success, in order to the removing of the differences among us: to which I reply, that even by the permission of their own phrase, most part of the Assembly might, yea did not know any such thing, but were confidently persuaded, if any such endeavours were used, the lack of success did, and doth lye solely and sadly upon the Protestors themselves; when this was Publickly debated in the Assembly, there was none found that knew any thing in that kinde, except that which was done in the latter end of the last year, which let the world judge how peaceable an endeavour it was, and whence it came that it wanted success? Thus it was: They meeting then in Edinburgh, without Order, after a little pause, did constitute themselves in to an Ecclesiasticall Judicatory, wherein Magisterially they defined things so prejudicial to us, as not onely obstructed all peace but also sounded the alarm to a new conflict, by emitting a Paper wherein they peremptorily conclude, among the chief causes of Gods contraversion with the Land, the Publick Resolutions and preceeding Assen. to have a speciall place: And having thus fast locked the door of peace to mock the world, if it did nought else, they sent some of their number to St. Andrews to essay if they could draw off 3 or 4 there, & others to Glasgow for the like intent, making account (which some of them spared not to profess) that if they could get five or six of our most eminent men off, they cared not for the rest of the Ministry, professing also at that conference, and others of them in an open Synod, that they would never unite with the most part of the Ministry of Scotland, and suitable to these ends was their carriage at St Andrews, as is clear in the Relation of the Paper thereanent, which Paper though Publick enough, We have never yet heard contradicted by any.

PROTESTATION *Defended.*

That most part of the Assembly did not know any such thing, is more then will be easily believed by these who know the progresse of the differences; were most part of the Assembly ignorant that Conference was desired by the Synod of *Glasgow* and others, when the Commission was carrying on the Publick Resolutions, long before the Assembly at *St. Andrews*? were they ignorant that in *St. Andrews* before the constitution of that Assembly, the Protesters did most earnestly Petition and endeavour an adjournment before they Protested as they did at their late Assembly in *Edinburgh*, earnestly desire a Conference before Constitution, but neither in the one nor in the other could they obtain satisfaction.

That which he calleth a Meeting at *Edinburgh*, was a Meeting of the Commissioners of the Generall Assembly 1650. and as great a number of them as was of these who (slighting the advertisement of others that were joyned with them in Commission) did answer the Parliaments *Quere*, and laid the foundation of conjunction with the Malignant Party, beside there were at this Meeting many other Godly Ministers, and Professors from several parts in the Country conveened, to search, consider, and after Prayer and Conference to agree on the Causes of the Lords controversy against the Land; and being convinced in their judgements that the treaty with the King in *Holland*, the Publick Resolutions, & corrupt Constitution and proceedings of the Assembly at *St. Andrews* and *Dundee* were amongst the parts of the Lands defection, and Causes of Godswrath, they did in conscience of their duety acknowledge the same and their own accession to these transgressions, and some did confesse with grief, that they had been chief in the trespass; the grounds and reasons of their conviction are expressed in that Paper by him mentioned, which this Reviewer might have refuted, if he had been able, or otherwise quarrelled lesse with it; he doth wrong himself as well as the Protesters, when he saith, that they magisterially defined things, and peremptorily concluded them: for the title of the Paper sheweth, that they onely do soberly propound things to others, as their advice. He would make this a locking of
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the door of peace, but considers not how that long before this, those that are for the Publick Resolutions, had contrary to the Word of God and Acts of this Kirk, constitute themselves into an Assembly; approved the publick Resolutions, condemned the Remonstrance and Protestation, censured some with deposition, and made severe Acts against all that differed from their way; that was not only to lock the door, but fasten it with bolts and bars. Then he makes his own construction of the Protesters, sending some of their number to *St. Andrews* and *Glasgow*, and affirms the end to be onely to gain five or six of their number, and to make it seem true which he alleageth, he setteth down two speeches uttered by some of the Protesters; but so far as I have learned, there was no such language as he expresseth. The Protesters do upon no occasion deny, that they make a difference betwixt some, who in former times have been faithfull, but of late were engaged for the publick resolutions, through the straits of the time and strong tentations; and betwixt others that have alwayes been promoters of a Malignant Interest; they do likewise deservedly esteem more of some leading men of the first sort, then of others of them, and their desire and endeavor to draw off some chief leading men, was to make way to draw off others, of whom also they do well esteem; yet as is to be feared, were too much swayed by example of these whom they know to have more learning and piety then themselves: and if a judgment may be given of the thoughts of the hearts of many of the last sort, who maintain the publick resolutions, from their speeches and actions, they are as desirous to be rid of these chief leading men from amongst them, as the Protesters are desirous to receive them. For that Paper ament the Conference at *S. Andrewes*, which he saith, is publick enough, but not contradicted by any; It is the first time for ought I know, that any of the Protesters have heard of it, and untill it be in more hands then these of his judgment, it may meet with no contradiction, and yet well deserve it.

PROTESTATION Reviewed.

AS for any of their endeavours they are inter oculos de quibus non judicat Ecclesia; But I shall desire it to be considered on the contrary, how the preceding Assembly at Dundee appointed,

ted, that Synods and Presbyteries should deal with them, to give them satisfaction ere they proceeded to censure; the publick Commission could do nothing of that kind, being by the troubles of the time impeded to sit, yet were not such of them as could most conveniently correspond, altogether defective in this, though pressed with either part of a dolefull dilemma: for if they should act in the capacity of a Commission, the Protesters would not have conferred; and out of that capacity, their actions (besides, that it could not have been obligatorie to others) had been a silent quitting, if not betraying of their trust; But providence offered opportunity thus: In the beginning of this year, some brethren from several parts of the Countrey, being sensible of the then imminent snare and danger, resolved by common consent to come to Edinburgh about the 12 of February, at which time they heard there was to be a great meeting of our dissenting brethren, where they resolved to deal with them, that there might be a common Warning emitted by consent of all the Judicatories of the Kirk, concerning things which we doubted not were agreed to on all hands: accordingly they dealt with such of them as were in Town, by the mediation of the Ministers of Edinburgh, by whom they sent to them materials of a Declaration, desiring them to change or adde as they should think fit for the purpose, but they refused to joyn, to the great grief of those who did mediate, pretending they would first have a conference about differences, which was nothing else but to disappoint the matter, the danger being so near, that a Meeting for such a conference could not be convened, and the danger prevented.

PROTESTATION Defended.

THath been already shewed, that before their Act at Dundee, they had emitted Warnings and Declarations against such as concurred not with them, as enemies to Religion, King and Kingdom, stirred up the Civill Magistrate to inflict punishment, and required Presbyteries to censure opposers within their bounds; and that Act which he mentioneth, leaveth no latitude to Synods and Presbyteries to forbear censure, except in the case of obedience to the Act anent the Publick Resolutions, though upon debate the major

major part of a Presbyterie should have been convinced of the evil of that course, yet the Act gives no power to recede. The Committee of Estates in 1648. did profess in generall terms, to offer all possible satisfaction and security for Religion, to which the Generall Assembly July 25. answereth, that they see no possibility of securing Religion, so long as that unlawfull Engagement was carryed on, which may be well applyed to the present case. That *dilemma* of his is but a weak device, *neutro cornu pungi*, the Protesters never did refuse to conferre with them; let them frame as many capacities to themselves as they pleased, onely they refused to acknowledge them a Judicatory, and upon protestation, they did conferre with these who accompted themselves clothed with the power of their late Assembly at *Edinburgh*. And on the other hand their acting out of that capacity had contriouted as much to the intended end, which was by conference to hold forth lightenant the matters in controversie. Neither was there any need of authority to oblige others who intrusted them, for their power was limited, and they are not warranted to depart from one ~~part~~ of the Publick Resolutions; so in that case they could not oblige. Nor is he able to make it appear, that it had been a betraying of their trust to conferre with these who refuse to acknowledge their authority, otherwise he shall condemne the practice of their late Assembly at *Edinburgh*; for though they would not conferre untill they had constituted themselves into an Assembly, yet then they conferred; but the capacity he speaks of, was not acknowledged, but Protested against, I know that there be such questions amongst States, to stick upon the niceties and punctilioes of their Titles, and the acknowledgement of their power; but these are too stately things; for Ministers of the Gospel, it is more suitable to use Christian condescendence, then to be puffed up with the pomp of pretended or reall authority, and therefore as I see not the strength of this *Dilemma*, so I see no reason why their late Assembly at *Edinburgh* refused to read a Letter from the Protesters, because they wanted their Titles indorsed on the back of the Letter. As to the relation he maketh in this Paragraphe, it is greatly perverted. If his ordinary discourse be suitable to the language of this Pamphlet, it would give ground enough to adjudge him to have lost the benefit of his franke law, and never to be admitted to be a witnessse
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for truth hereafter. The true state of that matter is this: The Protesters who had seasonably given a testimony before in a Letter sent to the Generall of the English Forces, and a duplicat presented to the Generall Major in *Edinburgh*, thought it their duty to meet again about that time, especially to prevent the imminent dangers to Religion; and having stayed about fourteen dayes together, and done what became them in their stations, and also advised the Ministers of *Edinburgh* to give a free testimony and faithfull warning to their people upon the Lords day, concerning the present snares and dangers to Religion, which was done accordingly; the Meeting dissolved. Some Brethren who are for the Publick Resolutions were in the Town, and had severall diets of meeting at the same time when such of the Protesters as were in Town did meet, upon what occasion they did meet was not known, but it was conceived to be for strengthening one anothers hands anent the Publick Resolutions; and I am sure there was no message sent to the Protesters at their meetings by the Ministers of *Edinburgh*, though they were present at the last diet of their meeting, nor yet by any other, only upon enquiry at these of the Protesters who dwelt in the Town; I find that some dayes after the Meeting was ended, some of the Ministers of *Edinburgh* came to one of them, (whether sent from any other or not, was not made known) and said, That there was a motion amongst some brethren that are for the Publick Resolutions then in Town, about the Protesters, and their joyning together in a Publick Warning against the English. And his answer was, that if they had any such intention or desire, he wondered why they did not propound it to the Meeting of the Protesters while they were in Town, and that he could not say any thing in a matter of that consequence without the rest, especially seeing he was not one of these who were intrusted by the meeting to confer with these brethren about matters in difference; and that seeing these who were appointed would be ready to confer whensoever Mr. *Blair*, or Mr. *Dickson* desired, he thought that it was best to propose it at such a Conference; When his own privat judgment was pressed, he answered, That they knew neither he, nor any of the Protesters, had scruple to give testimony against the *English* Proceedings, for they had already done it both by word and writing. As for this motion of joyning in a Testimony with those who were for the Publick

Resolutions, it was new to him and deserved second thoughts, and he desired to know if those who were for the Publick Resolutions, would joyn with the Protesters in the Testimonies which they had given already; & if in the testimonies to be given they would testify alike against both hands, according to the good old rule and practise of this Kirk; and for his own part he could not see, if they still maintained the principles of the Publick Resolutions, how they could abide by a Testimony, but did leave to themselves a latitude to joyn with any party whatsoever; and some of the Gentry had expressed this to be as good a warrant for their actings in the year 1651. as in 1650. and therefore if they would not joyn with the Protesters in their Testimonies against the *English*, nor in new Testimonies against both hands, he would have a great doubt of joyning with them: but this (he said) was only from, and for himself upon his first thoughts; he knew not what might be his second thoughts upon conference with others; and as for sending to him materials of a Declaration, desiring the Protesters to change, or add as they should think fit for the purpose, there was never any such thing presented to him, or any other of the Protesters, nor will he find any Ministers in *Edinburgh* to bear him witness in this particular. It seemeth that this Reviewer is accustomed to be very liberal in his language (to say no worse) and that his neighbors allow him the liberty to do so, otherwise he would have expected to meet with contradiction, and taken better heed to his Relation. Concerning that which he would insinuat, of the forwardness of those of his judgment to give such a Testimony, why then did they not (as the Protesters had done) give a Testimony alone by themselves, but they returned home without doing any thing, though the danger was so near, as he saith; nor did they any thing to that purpose on their subsequent Meetings; and for what they did at their late Assembly, I have spoken to it before.

PROTESTATION Reviewed.

THis past the Synods in April, being invited by that of *Edin*, by their acceptance of their Overture, showed their affection to such a peace with their Brethren, as might not trouble their peace with God; and for that effect did commissionate some of their
Members

Members to come to Edinburgh to a Meeting in May last: but that is the next thing they complain, and challenge us of. First, for neglecting to give them timely advertisement, when yet the very first motion of that Meeting in all our Judicatories, was in their presence; who (if they had been of such a peaceable temper as they talk of), would, no doubt, have made such an invitation welcome, and embraced the occasion. As for particular advertisement to them separately; The Delegates of the Synod of Fife intrusted therewith, used all possible diligence, a fortnight before that Meeting, dispatching their Missives, (which for ought that is known,) did not misdare; and upon their diligence, we found at that Meeting, some from Ross, and others from Dumfries, places of very remote distance, both South and North: and it is credibly informed, that some of their chief leading men wrote both to Aberdeen and Galloway, desiring their Complices, not to keep that Meeting. Secondly, they complain, That not so much as some few days of delay could be obtained by those few of their number, which were then present, whereby they might give advertisement to others. The truth is, in respect of their paucity, they required at least a fortnights delay (although they had probably a pre-indicted meeting, reasonable frequent, in that same place the very week following, and others of them were in Town then, did appear to us, and some of them went out of Town immediately before our Meeting) and so long a time could not be given; not only because our Brethren, having come hastily from their several dwellings, were not able to attend so long, and once suffered to scatter, could not conveniently be gathered again; but especially because having offered unto them a free General Assembly (the of old acknowledged proper remedy of all Ecclesiastical diseases) where many of our selves might again be present, it was plain, that nothing to any good effect could be done till then; and Providence happily casting that occasion in their hands, that they might appoint and determin of the place of the ensuing Assembly, they could not suffer the same to slip, which could not be shunned, for lack of timely advertisement to the Presbyteries, if it were not then concluded. And so (which they perceived, those they spoke with, directly aimed at) let the Kirk in this difficult time, be shaken loose of her possession, of that her dear-bought freedom, which Mr. Welsh,

Mr. Forbes, and other precious men, that now rest, adventured their lives, and suffered banishment, to preserve; as was gravely pressed home by Mr. Blair upon them, in the Conference; and to which they could not, save they did not, give so much as a seeming satisfactory answer. Thirdly, they say in the printed Paper, That a desire of Reconciliation was presented, but peremptorily, the electing, and sending Commissioners to keep the day, intended by the Meeting of Dundee, was concluded: I know no opposition betwixt those two, as I conceive any good sense in the former, the one being the end, and the other a mean to it. Besides, I know no desire of Reconciliation presented to them, except the Paper of the Offer of a free Assembly, as the proper remedy of our distractions. But in the Autograph, it is pretended, not presented; and so they most uncharitably assert, we pretended a desire of Reconciliation, but had concluded another thing. It is so well known in the Country, whether it be we, or they, that use to act so, that I shall only need to speak to the purpose. Our desire of peace was real, the obstruction of it was from them, and we had been very foolish and censurable, if ever the Lord should bless us with another Assembly, for not walking answerable to our trust in relation to this, if we had not designed the place thereof.

PROTESTATION Defended.

THE Answer which he giveth anent neglecting to give timely advertisement of their Meeting in May last, is, That the motion of that Meeting in all Judicatories, was in the Protesters presence; and if they had been of a peaceable temper, they had made the invitation welcome: This, I believe, is the best Answer he can give; but he might as well have given no Answer at all. For first, Letters were only written to some Presbyteries and Synods, and not to all, and there was not one word spoken of such a thing in many Presbyteries, or in their Synods. (2.) In these Presbyteries or Synods to which Letters came, the motion or overture doth expressly exclude dissenters from the Publick Resolutions, from any advise or consent in appointing that Diet, and is only directed to such as are for the Publick Resolutions, who are desired to return their acceptance of the Overture to the Delegates of the Synod of

Fife, againſt the 28 of *April*, to the end, that upon their receiving of the Answer of Synods and Presbyteries, to which they had written, they might, if they thought fit, advertise the dissenters from the Publick Resolutions to keep that Diet, *May* 12. but in that Letter there was no invitation for them to come, but rather an intimation not to come till they were advertised concerning the Resolutions of the Delegates of *Fife*, upon the return from Synods and Presbyteries. (3) I say, the business was purposely so contrived, as to make Conference for Reconciliation the pretence, but another thing was intended, *viz.* That the Commission of the pretended Assembly at *Dunelm* might meet to determine the place of the Assembly ensuing, which had been left in the Indiction under the uncertainty of an Alterative. That Conference for Reconciliation was pretended, the Letter of the Synod of *Fife*, and discourse of their Meeting *May* 12 doth evidence, and this Reviewer asserteth it. That the same was not intended, doth appear from this, that a competent time is allowed to acquaint Synods, and where they were not sitting, to acquaint Presbyteries which were for the Publick Resolutions; but where Synods and Presbyteries were against the Publick Resolutions, no Letters were sent to such; but after these that are for the Publick Resolutions are acquainted, and have returned their Answers against the 28 of *April*, the Letter of the Synod of *Fife* appoints these Answers to be considered before any Invitation be given to the Dissenters from the Publick Resolutions; and it is no secret that it was agreed amongst them, that some men of good estimation amongst the Protesters should not at all be invited nor conferred with: Now some time must be allowed for them to consider the Returns, and some time to make their Dispatches to all places within the Kingdom, and some time for those to whom the Letters were directed, to communicate the same to the rest of the number within their bounds and some time must be allowed to ride to *Edinburgh*; all which was not possible within the space of thirteen dayes, from the 28 of *April*, to the 12 of *May*: for instance, no Letters were written to the Synod of *Glasgow*, where many of the Protesters live; nor from the Synod of *Fife*, or their Delegates; but one Brother of that Synod writes a private Letter to another Brother in *Glasgow*, and seven or eight dayes of the time were elapsed before the Letter came to his hands, whereby

whereby it came to pass that some Presbyteries were not at all advertised, and others, when it was too late to go to that Meeting, 12 of May: the like happened in other parts of the Country; and indeed it could not be otherwise in places more remote from the Synod of Fife (it may be remembered that the same art was used by slighting Advertisements when they gave their Answer to the Parliaments Quarre) Further, I desire it may be considered, what this Reviewer saith himself pag. 9. viz. when a fortnight is desired to convene the Protesters, he answereth, *That it was plain, that nothing to any good effect could be done, till the Meeting of their Assembly.* With these things I desire the Answer of their Commission dated November 26. 1652. may be compared; which saith in express words; *That the time of the Gen. Assembly was near approaching that they behoved to meet in that capacity (to wit, of a Commission) for determining the place of the Assembly ensuing, which had been left in the indiction under the uncertainty of an alternative, by reason of the time:* all which laid together, do sufficiently shew that the matter was purposely so contrived. Next, he saith, that some from *Rosse*, and others from *Dumfries* were there upon their diligence; but unless he say, some of the Dissenters from the Publick Resolutions, residing in these parts, were there upon advertisement sent from the Delegates of *Fife*, after the 28 of *April*, he speaketh not to the purpose; for such as were for the Publick Resolutions might easily be there, for they had a competent time, and if any of the Dissenters from the Publick Resolutions were chosen by Synods or Presbyteries, which at most was but one or two, they might conveniently be there also, or perhaps some might be there occasionally: but none of these will prove his point. That some of the chief leading men of the Protesters, wrote to *Galloway* and *Aberdeen*, desiring their Complices not to keep that Meeting: For ought I have learned, there was no such thing; and if he can, let him instance the persons, in the mean time I give this instance to the contrary, That some of the Protesters were there from *Aberdeen*, being chosen by the Synod: He grants that which the Protestation allageth, That the few Protesters that were there, required a fortnights delay, in respect of their paucity, that they might send advertisements to others; but saith, That probably they had a preindicted Meeting, reasonably frequent, in that

same place the week following. But herein he is much mistaken, they had no pre-indicted Meeting, but those few Protesters who were in *Edinburgh*, supposing that their reasonable request, for a fortnights delay, could not be denied, (if there was any real desire of peace, concerning which they had charity, till it appeared otherwise) & did write Letters to all their Brethren that were not far distant from *Edinburgh*, to hast unto that Meeting with all diligence, which they did accordingly; and this sheweth their readiness to have come in upon advertisement; but when they came in, the Brethren that are for the Publick Resolutions, had indicted the place of their ensuing Assembly, and so having done the business for which they came, were gone from *Edinburgh* before the Protesters were convened. That two or three were in Town, and did not appear, and some of them went out of Town, is little to the business, their lawful occasions might divert them; and some of them were not called to the Meeting, yea, in effect rather desired to be absent; but they came when they were advertised. It is a poor subterfuge he makes for not granting a fortnights delay, to say, they could not attend so long. or being scattered, they could not be conveniently gathered again: Either of these might have been done, *if they had been of such a peaceable temper as they talk of* (as he is pleased in this Section to say of the Protesters.) But he comes nearer to the truth and saith, *It was plain, that nothing could be done, till the meeting of their Assembly*: And so he may well say, considering that themselves had resolved nothing should be done till then. Afterward he alleageth, There would not have been time to advertise Presbyteries anent the place of their Assembly: But suppose the desire of the Protesters had been granted, there was abundance of time, there being about ten weeks betwixt the 12 of *May*, and the Diet of their Assembly the 21 of *July*, and so all the hazards he mentioneth might even in his own way have been prevented. But what if it had been so, that they had not determined the place? I cannot consent to what he saith, That the Kirk would have been shaken loose of her possession. Doth he know, or hath he forgotten what was maintained by the Covenanted Protesters in 1638. and the Act of the Assembly at *Glasgow*, Decemb. 26. 1638? or the Act of the Assembly at *Edinburgh*, Aug. 17. 1639. which was made after so much debate about that distinction of yearly and occasional

casional Assemblies, both in the Treaty at the *Birks*, and in that Assembly, the Act 27 of *August* 1647. and the Act of Parliament 1592. and the fourth, and sixth Act of Parliament 1640. ancient yearly General Assemblies, expressly distinguished from occasional Assemblies, of which sort of Assemblies only the necessity is first to be remonstrated to the Civil Magistrate, and even these may be kept in case he refuse, by the intrinsecal power received from Christ as often as it is necessary for the good of the Church, as the Act of Assembly *August* 27 beareth: so there is no question, *in jure*, against this Kirks priviledge of holding Gen. Assemblies once in the year, without any address to the Magistrate. What if they had been violently stopped at that time from meeting, would they judge the Kirk to be so shaken loose of her possession, as she might not thereafter convene with the first opportunity, and keep yearly General Assemblies without address to the Civil Magistrate, because the adjournment was not kept: I hope they will not say so, nor make the Kirks priviledges lesse then Christ hath appointed, and the State hath acknowledged there is no limitation in the Acts of Parliament, or clause irritant in reference to keeping of adjournments: If the Right and Possession of the Church did hang on so ticklish a pinne, the corrupt Assembly at *St. Andrew* hath much shaken and indangered the same, for the possession of corrupt Assemblies doth not maintain the right of free lawfull General Assemblies, this alleadgance of theirs is but a fair flourish to perswade people to think well of their way, and of the necessity of their refusing Conference with their Brethren before Constitution. As to that he saith of *Mr. Welch* and others; Their endeavours were not to sit and make Acts approving of the Defection of the time, and obligatory of the whole Church as now is done, and that which they were mainly condemned to death for, and suffered banishment, was for declining the King and his Councell from being judges in Ecclesiasticall matters *in prima instantia*; but the Commission which sate at *Perth* and their Assembly at *Dunlee* did subject the Doctrine of the Ministers of Jesus Christ to the immediate cognizance and censure of the Civil Magistrate in the case of the Ministers of *Sterline*. There be two sorts of Ministers engaged for the Publick Resolutions as hath been touched before, one of these was never ready to act for Assemblies when they were rightly constituted, much lesse to suffer

suffer for them. As for the other sort, I do hope when the Lord shall afford the opportunity of having Assemblies rightly constituted as formerly, they shall not adhere to the present corrupt constitution; nor do I think their persuasion is such concerning the Publick Resolutions, when they are free of temptations, as they durst adventure to suffer for the same as Mr. Welch and other precious men did for the undoubted right, Freedom and Privledge of this Kirk, under the persecution of King James, who would not acknowledge either right or possession of Assemblies, but maintained that their Meeting and dissolving ought to depend on his pleasure, and that they could decree nothing without his consent or ratification, yet setting aside the Publick Resolutions which is the grounds of the difference betwixt them and the Protesters; I do in charity judge, that many of them would suffer for the right and freedom of the Kirk. In the end of this Section he would fain quibble on the PRINTERS escape, in Printing *presented* for *pretended*, though he grants that in the Autograph it is *pretended*; his zeal leadeth him to quarrel with any that have the least hand about the Protestation, even with the PRINTERS Boy, though in some Printed Copies the fault be corrected; but I say no more, for it's wearisome to trifle the time in answering all that he saith.

PROTESTATION Reviewed.

IN the next room, they mention their Paper given in with the Propositions (wherein they say they have concurrence of the Generality of the godly of the Land) and did intreat for a Conference, which was denied; the Commissioners proceeding to assume the power, and Constitute themselves in a Generall Assembly: lest any should think, that in assuming the power, and Constituting themselves into a General Assembly, they did some new and uncouth thing, as those who challenge them did the last year, in Constituting themselves a Commission of the Kirk; be it known to all men, they did no other thing, nor in no other way, then all the Assemblies since the last Reformation have been in constant practice of:
And

And how necessary it was, in this staggering time, not to change in the least, will be assented unto by every ingenious man, nor know I any reason why they should complain: For those to whom the Paper was given were not in a capacity to give an answer, till they were first Constituted in an Assembly (yea none but an Assembly could satisfactorily answer their demands, as is evident to, and will be acknowledged by the Judicious Reader) which was no sooner done, then they went effectually about it. But on the contrary the Protesters would not so much as wait till then, but presently gave in their Protestation. We will not now speak of that other Paper, yet cannot passe that arrogant Tuttle of the generality of the godly, which they assume to themselves and their abettors: We will not mention of whom they learned this, and whom in many other things they too much resemble: But we shall referre the Reader to that most faithfull and timeous Warning and Declaration of the late Assembly at Dundee, and the third admonition and charge of the second part thereof.

PROTESTATION Defended.

HE affirms that they did nothing in constituting their Assembly; then was done in all the Assemblies since the Reformation; but if he had understood wel the History of Proceedings in this Kirk, he should have said they did no other thing then was done in the six unlawfull Assemblies immediatly proceeding the last Reformation (which the Review of the Vindication of the Assembly at St. Andrews and Dundee doth clearly manifest, and that they have Constituted themselves in a way contrary to the strain and tenor of the Acts of this Kirk anent Constitution of Assemblies from our first Reformation: and if that at St. Andrews was no lawfull Assembly of this Kirk, then the Commission of the Gen. Assem. 1650 is still in force, and need d not a new Constitution, the Commission being ordained to endure in the intervall, untill the next free lawfull Generall Assembly, and though one half of the Members appointed on that Commission by the General Assembly 1650 have

have contrary to expresse limitations in their Commission agreed on the Publick Resolutions, and contrary to the established Order of this Kirk, procured an unlawfull Assembly to Ratifie their Proceedings, yet there is twife the number of a Quorum of the Members of that Commission which have never assented to, nor concurred in these Publick Resolutions. The desire of the Protesters to that Meeting at *Edinburgh*, for not Constituting of themselves, and for entertaining of a Conference, was shewed by him who hath the trust of the Registers of the Kirk, and most knowledge thereof, to be agreeable to divers practices even of lawfull Assemblies in this Kirk, as in the year 1568, 1569, 1578, 1586, 1591, 1597. which was done at the desire of Mr. *Blair*, and the particulars offered to be instructed. The Writer of this Review may remember what sharp returns Mr. *Blair* met with because of his Repeating and pressing these things when the Protesters did remove. As to that he saith that they were not in a capacity to answer the Representation of the Protesters untill they were Constituted, I assert, they were only in a capacity to answer before Constitution, and not after it; for questions about constitution must precede, and not follow after constitution; therefore it was necessary to protest presently against their wrong Constitution, and it was either a weak answer which many of their Assembly gave that adjournment, or a few dayes would annull all their Commissions, their being no such limitation or provision in their Commissions nor any Act of this Kirk to that purpose, but if the Conference had been granted for the ends desired, and blessed of the LORD with an agreement in the matter of the Propositions, there had been no great difficulty to have accorded anent Assemblies in time coming. The generality of the Godly was not mentioned in the Papers of the Protesters, without a previous report of godly Ministers and Professors from severall parts of the Land, though he saith he will not mention of whom the Protesters learned this, and whom in many other things they resemble, yet the Protesters are not ashamed of these to whom they were Disciples in this expression, and many other things of necessary use in the present debates, whosoever shal peruse the Papers of this Kirk in the year 1638 and 1648 may be abundantly satisfied that the Protesters follow the ways and words of these who have gone before them in the Work
of

of Reformation. The fifth Argument against the unlawful Engagement, is founded upon the same ground and *expression*. It is very like they had offended as much if the Protesters had used the words made use of in the like case by our Predecessors against the course of Defection, which are the equivalent hereof, *viz.* The greatest part of the most zealous Professors in the Land, no question that was thought by many of that corrupt age as arrogant a Title to be assumed by the Protesters of these dayes against the corruptions of that time, as this Reviewer thinks the Title of the generality of the godly to be, when it's used by the present Protesters. The singular testimony which he giveth to the Warning and Declaration at *Dundee* speaks, That he hath a singular estimation thereof in his heart, above many former Warnings and Declarations of this Kirk; I desire to know if he can with so full a mouth, and hearty applause give such an *encomium* to the Declaration in the year 1648 against the unlawful Engagement, let any indifferent man read & compare them, whether contrary spirits do not speak in these two Declarations. As to the passage cited by him in that Warning, I Answer, That the Protesters are very far from such ways and opinions as the Members of this Kirk are exhorted in that Warning to beware of; Neither their Profession nor practice doth hold forth any such thing, as that they would *have a Kirk made up of such persons only, as do evidence their Regeneration*; they desire to beware of that extrem upon the one hand; but they desire also to beware of another extreme upon the other; to wit, That a Kirk may lawfully according to the Word of God, be made up of known obstinate Enemies to the Lord and his Work; and that notorious bloudy Rebels who hate to be Reformed may be admitted to all the Ordinances of Christ in the Church, and preferred in the State to chief employments, and intrusted with the defence and preservation of the Lords Interests and People, notwithstanding they have been and still remain wicked enemies to, and persecuters of the same; there is a middle way betwixt these two extremes which the Protesters do hold according to the Word of God; and the received Doctrine of this Kirk for near an hundred years, and especially since the late Reformation, to which rule the Protesters do adhere, and do hold it their duty to endeavour that they may be observed and practised as well as they are professed, it being one of the crying and most

provoking sins of this Land, to make fair Professions but to fail in the Practice.

PROTESTATION Reviewed.

VV Here they affirm it their burden, and that they have no delight to be contesting with any who profess themselves to be maintainers of the Government of this Church; it is wished their Works were consonant to their words, and made them credible to all on-lookers: Certainly however they may please themselves, this is not the ordinary opinion that most men have of them.

PROTESTATION Defended.

VV Hat opinion most men have of the Protesters is not much to their disadvantage, if the greater number within the Land be admitted judges to Pious men and true Piety. I fear all that arrive beyond a meer formality, shall be condemned for Hypocrites. I would not appeal to the generality of the Land in the matter of judging what is right and wrong in *jure*, betwixt those that are for the Publick Resolutions and the Protesters; but I dare freely hazard to the vote of the major part in the Land the matter of fact which is the thing in contest betwixt these that are for the Publick Resolutions and the Protesters; that is to say, whether the Assembly at *Dundee* and *Edinburgh* be keeping their former Principles, yea, or not? If you will ask any, even of the Malignant party (at least all that ever I could speak with my self, or hear of from any other) they will tell you the Kirk was wrong before, but now is become right since the King came to *Scotland*, and these who are most grossely prophane and wicked in all the Land are now become great Zealots, and stout patriots for the late Assemblies, though before they were haters of all Kirk Judicatories.

PROTESTATION Reviewed.

NExt they speak of a party of insufficient, scandalous, & ill-affected Ministers, &c. complying with the times, expressing their dis-affection to the Work of Reformation, as they found opportunity, as in the time of James Graham, and the unlawfull Engagement, who got greater advantage by the Publick Actings for bringing in of Malignants to places of trust: And who perceiving they were not able to endure tryall and purging, began the last year to lift up their heads, and being encouraged by the Acts and Censures of Dundee, have so strengthened themselves, as to carry on Publick Determinations to their own ends from whom (say they) what can be expected, but to favour every evill course, to persecute such as seek the Lord in sincerity, suppress the power of Godlinesse, and open the door of the Ministry to such as for insufficiency, scandals, or dis-affection, have been justly deposed: in regard whereof, they think there is too great cause to make use of the Prophets words, Jer. 23. 14, 15. There be many things here deserve animadversion.

I. Although we deny not, but that in every Order there may be some out of Order; as Judas among the Apostles, and Saul among the Prophets, yet know we not of any such party as they speak of, nor did so much as any person of that kinde sooner appear among us, then according to the measure of his offence, he found the severity of Discipline. It would be seriously considered, whether or not by this Party, they mean the Body of the Ministry represented at Dundee, whom thus they would cast an odium upon; but what favour the Party that was truly such as they describe, found at that venerable Assembly, let their Acts and Declarations speak, which Declaration of theirs mentioneth another Party, that hath (alas)

too long lurked among us, and under specious pretexts brought their design to that pass we now see. These men should (according to the common rule) first have purged themselves, and taken this beam out of their own eye.

PROTESTATION Defended.

I With the corrupt party amongst the Ministry were as thin sown, as he would insinuat, by telling there was a *Judas* among the Apostles, and a *Saul* among the Prophets. But the many Acts of Assemblies for purging the Ministry by ordinary Judicatories; and because of their negligence, the Commissions appointed for Visitation, and the great work they had where they came, Visitations in other parts of the Land, (where as much, if not more work of that kind, was to be expected) being interrupted by the troubles of the time; and other impediments, the gross ignorance not only of the People, but even of the Elders in many Congregations, where their present Ministers have been living amongst them, some twenty, some thirty years, and have not so much as taken pains to instruct them in the necessary grounds of Religion, together with the neglect of Discipline during that time, and yet such suffered to remain in the Ministry, the scandals of many Ministers for drunkenness and other common vices, together with their godless carriage at home and abroad, are more than abundant proof of what is alleged in the Protestation. And though this Reviewer is pleased to say, they knew not of any such Party, yet alas it is more palpable to the mourners in Zion, than that they need any further proof thereof, then to be conversant amongst many of them but a very few days, and I know that some who concur with the late Assemblies, will not deny it, but I trust do make conscience to mourn for it in secret before the Lord. The Protestation doth not speak of the Body of the Ministry, but a corrupt Party which had too great influence at the Assembly in *Dundee*. Whereas he referred his Readers to the Acts made at *Dundee*, to know what favour the Party that was truly such, found there, no such Acts are ordinarily to be seen, I am sure, but such as are made against the Protesters and the Dissenters from the

the Publick Resolutions are to be readily found in all hands. If the thing he meaneth, be the slight Act made against the divisive Supplication, what hath followed thereupon for execution lesse or more? If he mean that the Supplications of Ministers formerly deposed for grosse faults, were not granted, he may remember the Politick argument used at *Dundee*, and renewed at *Edinburgh* upon the same occasion, *viz.* That it was good to abstain from present reponing them, because of the *odium* it would bring upon them, and for that Declaration he yet again mentioneth, I have told him it hath been answered.

PROTESTATION Reviewed.

IT is true indeed, and I trust the Kirk of this Nation hath no reason to repent, that she still hath some, who (during the prevailing of the Prelats) were carryed down with the tide of the times, even to give subscriptions according to the then way of entry, and being weighted therewith, do comfort themselves with Paul, that God will be mercifull unto them in that which they did ignorantly. But for those horrid Oaths they speak of, nothing is known but the common subscription: and if ought concern the Kirk to know more, it should neither have been so long concealed by those who appropriate to themselves the title of the Goats, nor now revealed at such a time, and in such a way. As for their subscriptions, they were generally known, yet notwithstanding hereof. Were the subscribers even at first invited to the Covenant, and some of them with the first appeared against the Service-Book, and many of them have not to this day fallen from their steadfastnesse, neither were all that have fallen of that number. But for farther and full clearing of this, I offer these things: 1. Some of the prime of their number, are also, if not more grossely guilty of the ill, then any of ours. 2. There are of our number ten for one of theirs, who in that hour and power of darkness, bare the heat and hard of the day. 3. Scarce twenty of them are yet of six years standing in the Ministry, & but about five only of them were Ministers, when the Nationall Covenant was subscribed. 4. And generally all the old Ministers, and those that were admitted before the Episcopall encroachments, are for the Assembly. 5. And lastly,

Would we speak of those that suffered under the Prelats, the Assembly will be found to have three for it, where one is against it.

PROTESTATION Defended.

WHat the Writer of this Paper doth mean by the common subscription, I do not well know; if by common he mean that, to which most of the Conformists did subscribe, I say, that was an horrid oath, as doth appear from the Records of their subscriptions. If by common he mean the lesser oath, and accompt the matter of that oath common; I shall set down the true Copy both of the greater and lesser Oath the Conformists did subscribe, and let the Reader judge, if the least of the two may not be accompted horrid enough for a Minister of Jesus Christ to swear at his entry to such an holy Calling: the greater Oath sweareth to practize all the corruptions of the time, and implicite obedience for what should be after concluded, under the pain of deprivation, infamie and perjury. The lesser Oath sweareth solemnly to the practice of the corruptions of the time, and particularly for Episcopacy, and the five Articles of *Perth*, and what should be lawfully concluded thereafter by the Church, as then constituted of Archbishops, Bishops, &c. under the pain of deposition and perjury. The Protestation doth acknowledge, that the Lord was graciously pleased to give repentance to not a few who were involved in that defection; and concerning that which he saith, that it should neither have been so long concealed, nor now revealed at such a time; and in such a way. It is not long since it was made known to these who have joyned in the Protestation, neither had it been revealed now, unlesse men since their seeming to repent thereof at the taking of the Nationall Covenant, had by their after-carriage discovered their hypocrisie and rottenness of their way: beside, it hath only been revealed in the generall, and the Protesters have not published their names. Their subscriptions (saith he) were generally known, I grant their conformity was known, but not their subscriptions, at least, that it was to an Oath, and so horrid an Oath. I do verily suppose, and not without ground, that some who have subscribed, as aforesaid, have forgotten that the Oath was so gross, otherwise why would they deny it, when the subscription is in Record

cord under their hand? He saith, some of them appeared with
 the first against the Service-Book, I think few but sem-Papists or
 Atheists would have willingly embraced that Book, though fear
 might prevail with some for compliance, but how few of them ap-
 peared at first against Episcopacy, and the five Articles of *Perth*, to
 which they had sworn? He offers five things to clear the matter
 further, but two of them are coincident. As to the first, for any
 thing I know or can learn, he can instance but one of the number
 of Protesters who complied with the Prelats, which hath been
 matter of humiliation, and a mean sanctified of the Lord to fit him
 the more for opposing these and the like corruptions; he hath
 now for fifteen years given large proof of the sincerity of his re-
 pentance, and hath been very usefull in his station, for promoting
 the Work of Reformation beyond others, of whom more was ex-
 pected. And as for the number of those that stand for the Pub-
 lick Resolutions, who subscribed Oaths, or at least practised the cor-
 ruptions of that time, he will finde their number no smaller then
 some hundreds. The second thing which he propones to consid-
 eration, is coincident with the fifth, for who did bear the heat and
 hard of the day in that hour and power of darkness, but these who
 suffered under the Prelats; yet in the second he saith, that these
 of their number were ten for one with these that are Protesters;
 but upon better consideration in the fifth, he falls down to three for
 one, and though he had said onely, that their number which suffer-
 ed under the Prelats was equal to the number of Protesters that
 suffered, he should upon a just computation, have found difficulty
 to make it good; but because he is accustomed to speak big words,
 I shall pass this as a brag to beguile simple Readers, though I think
 I might say, the sufferings of the Protesters were greater; but blest
 be the Lord for the faithfulness of all that suffered. As to the
 third, I do so far differ from him in my computation, and (I sup-
 pose) I know the Protesters near as well as he, that I can scarcely
 find twenty of them under six years standing in the Ministry,
 which then concurred in the Protestation, though blessed be the
 Lord *their number increaseth*. If he can help my memory in two
 or three, that will be the most, he saith, that about five of them on-
 ly were Ministers when the Nationall Covenant was subscribed,
 which is about fifteen years since, I can find him about five times

five, who were then Ministers, that joyn in the Protestation; and there be diverse more who are unsatisfied with the Publick Resolutions, though they adhere not to the Protestation. And what great advantage is this, I pray you, that he so earnestly hunts after? Whether is it more commendation for severall of the Protesters that were ready to have entered into the Ministry, to forbear to enter, by subscribing to such sinfull Oaths; or for many of these that are for the Publick Resolutions, that they entered by such a corrupt way, and so were Ministers when the National Covenant was subscribed? would this argument have any weight with judicious men against Mr. *George Gillespie's* testimonies for the Cause of God, because he entered not into the Ministry till after the Reformation began. 4. He saith, that generally all the old Ministers and these that were admitted before the Episcopall encroachments, are for the Assembly. The defection began in 1597. and upon King *James* his entry to *England*, (which is about fifty years since) the Episcopall incroachments began, and all opposers of the defection were discountenanced, and such as were for it, favoured and encouraged by the King, State, Bishops, and corrupt Assemblies: for my own part, I know few that can be of that standing in the Ministry, but I know some who have been about that time in the room of the Ministry, who are not long since deposed for insufficiencie and scandals, and like enough there be more of that sort. Let this Reviewer do the worst he can to cast aspersions and reproaches upon the Protesters, I do believe that in no time of the defection of the Assemblies of this Kirk, there can be produced so great a number of faithfull witnesses that adventured to give in Protestations against the corruptions of the time; and these on either hand also. This is to me a token for good unto the Land from the Lord, to whom alone the praise is due.

The greater Oath.

“ **WE** by thir presents, solemnly
 “ swear, and faithfully promise to observe and fulfill the
 “ Articles and Conditions following; they are to say,
 “ 1. That we shall be leill and true to our most gracious Sove-
 “ raign the Kings Majesty and his Highnesse successours, and to our
 “ power shall maintain his Highnes right and prerogative in Causes
 “ Ecclesiastick.

2. That

2. That we shall be obedient to our Ordinary the Archbishop
 "and to all other our Superiours in the Church, I speak of them re-
 "verently, and in all our privat and Publick Prayers, commend them
 "and their Estate to Gods mercifull protection.

3. That we shall in all places by conferences, and where we have
 "occasion in publick preaching, maintain the present Government
 "of the Church and Jurisdiction Episcopall, and shall by reading
 "be carefull to inform our selves of the true and lawfull grounds
 "thereof, to the end we may stand for the same against the adver-
 "saries opposers of the same.

4. That we shall be diligent to our power in the duties of our
 "Calling by residence with our flock, and not divert there-from
 "without licence of our Ordinary the Archbishop.

5. That we shall study to advance the Estate of the Church in
 "generall, and particularly the estate of the Church of
 "whereto we are to be admitted and received, in all the profits and
 "commodities that possibly we can.

And lastly, that we shall live peaceable Ministers in the Church,
 "subjecting our selves to the orders that therein are, or shall be e-
 "stablished; and by all means that we can use, procure others to
 "the due reverence of the same; which thing if we shall contra-
 "veen (as God forbid) we are content upon tryall and cognition
 "taken by our said Ordinary, without all reclamation or gainsay-
 "ing, to be deprived of our Ministry, and be reputed and held in-
 "famous and perjured persons for ever. Subscribed with our
 "hands at

The lesser Oath.

I now to be admitted to the ho-
 "ly function of the Ministry, do faithfully promise, and by my
 "great Oath solemnly swear, That I shall be obedient to all the
 "Acts and Constitutions of the Church, made and agreed upon in
 "the by-past Generall Assemblies, or that hereafter shall be law-
 "fully concluded, and particularly to the Acts concluded at Perth
 "in the Generall Assembly which was kept there in the moneth of
 "August 1618. And if I shall fail in the performance of this my
 "Oath and Promise, I am content that upon the tryall thereof I be
 "deposed as perjured and unworthy to bear any Function in the

"Kirk. In witness whereof I have subscribed thir presents with
 "my hand.

PROTESTATION Reviewed.

AS for any who by word or deed at any time appeared against the late Reformation, they still found so little patrociny from those who are now Assembly-Men, that I am sure, if we should serve the Protesters with the like measure, for transgressions of the like nature, and perhaps greater, they would cry out of cruelty and persecution. As for the Epithets they give that Party : I confesse, ill enough cannot be done to, let be spoke, of men who are truly such as they describe : But we d siderate here both charity and prudence; at such a time, and in such a way, casting filth upon the faces of their Brethren; and that (for ought yet seen or known) most unjustly.

PROTESTATION Defended.

IF these who appeared against Reformation by word or deed had found so little patrociny with the late Assembly men, many of them had been small friends to themselves; as is too well known, not only to their nearest neighbours, but to these that live at a good distance from them. And why did their moderator of their late Assembly tell them; that the deposed Ministers both thought and said, they had many good friends amongst them ? The Protesters were never accounted guilty of that fault, and himself afterward challenging them for being of a rigid purging humor, so I know not what transgressions of the like nature he hath to charge them with. He grants in his fourth Observation, that the epithets may be applyed if the Party were such as is described, when he shall seriously consider what hath been said for evidence thereof, he may perhaps change his judgment about them, or at least, not defend them so confidently.

PROTESTATION Reviewed.

That the Publick Actings were for bringing in of the Malignant party, to places of power and trust, and bearing down such as had been straight in the Cause, stirring up the Civil Magistrate against them, and subjecting the liberty of the Word in the mouth of Christs Ambassadors, for reproof of sin to the immediate judicial cognizance, restraint and censure of the Civil Magistrate, will appear a masse of malicious reproaches, by shortly setting down the true stories related to: But I must first tell, that the odious term Malignant, doth not appertain to them, who having satisfied for their offences of that kind, according to the Order prescribed by these mens own assent and advice, keep themselves free from new out-breakings of that abjured iniquity; And if we walk not according to this rule, many of them will be forced to hear, what for the present I purpose not to speak. And next adde, That all the birds of their feather, were not so straight in the Cause, as they would seem, to insinuate here: And on the other part, some, whom they term Malignants here, have given unquestioned evidence of their affection to, and are still suffering for that Cause. Now, the Stories related to, are these two; The one so well known, that we need no more but remember how, when, and upon what pinch of necessity, (which themselves know how it came) the Commission of the Kirk being enquired by the State, who might be employed for the necessary defence of the Country at such a time: The Commission of the Kirk gave that Answer, which their duty to GOD, their Mother Kirk, Native Country, and the Protestant Interest, extorted from them, and which all Nations and Incorporations whatsoever, will, and do allow and practise in such a case. But, that People may rightly judge of it, for it is ordinarily mis-represented, we desire them to get, and ponder the Commissions own Papers. The other

Story is shortly (in so far as it is most material) thus; It being represented by the Committee of Estates, to the Commission of the Kirk, what hazard the Garrison of Sterlin was in, by their Ministers there preaching, and other waies dealing, they withal signified how they behoved to take some course for securing the same, the Commission desired their Lordships, that they would not meddle with the matter, till they had first dealt with them; and returned their report of the Issue, which being assented to, the Commission wrote for them to St. Andrews, where they met with them; and when by conference they would not receive satisfaction, began to entreat them first to give assurance, that they would not obstruct the Levies, but this they refused: Thereafter, that they would be pleased (for Peace sake) to withdraw for a season from Sterlin, and they would provide their places; but this they also refused, although Mr. Blair then (apparently a dying) did gravely obtest them, both for the one and the other; which being represented to the Committee of Estates, and they thereafter informed, how those Ministers continued in their former practice, they wrote for them once, and again, to come to Perth; But ere they came (the most part of the Committee being removed to the North) they who remained, desired them to stay at Perth or Dundee, till the rest should return, against which they protested in very high terms, as encroaching upon the Ministry, &c. By the time the rest returned, the Parliament did sit, who desired the Judgment of the Commission, whether or not the Committee of Estates had made any encroachment upon the Ministry and Government of this Kirk, by detaining these Ministers, and give their advice what course the Parliament should take in relation to them, for securing the Garrison of Sterlin; the summe of the Answer thereto was, The Brethren might lawfully protest, that nothing be done prejudicial to the Liberties of the Kirk; but that they did not see that the Committee of Estates had encroached thereon, by that which they had done; and that they could give

give no advise to their Lordships, the securing of a Garrison being a thing not competent to them. After which, some of those Ministers friends entreated some of the Commission, to deal with the Parliament, to let their Brethren go home, undertaking for them, that they should not further offend; which the Brethren of the Commission did, engaging themselves to be answerable for their carriage; whereupon they were presently dismissed. This being the true Story, let any judge of the truth of the former Calumnies.

PROTESTATION Defended.

TWO things he denies, and saith they are malicious reproaches: The first is, the in-bringing of the Malignant party to places of power and trust; one while he pleads their repentance, and would have them to be no Malignants that have made a fashion of repentance, without any evidences, yea, there were contrary evidences in their speeches and actions: another while he pleads necessity for it, and saith, the Protesters know how it came; which is true indeed, though not perhaps in his sense: They too well know from sad experience, how that necessity was plotted and contrived at the Hague and Breda in Holland, and how the design was driven on in Court, State and Kirk in Scotland, all other necessities were but pretended: and what necessity is that, which should make a People, confederated with God in a solemn Covenant, to give up the Lords Covenanted Interests and People, to the power of his and their Anti-Covenanted Enemies, whose hands have been, more then once, imbrued in their blood. Then he referreth to the Commissions Papers, for further satisfaction; but these have been sufficiently answered by former Papers, to which no Reply hath been given. I find in the Commissions large Paper, in answer to the King and Parliament, concerning the Ministers of *Sterlin*, this Defence of their Answer to the Parliaments Quare, which is brought forth by them, with confident words, as an undeniable Argument, Either the Malignants will satisfie, or not satisfie; if they satisfie, then they must be admitted to the Covenant and Ordinances, and if to these, then they may be admitted to fight for Religion, King and Country &c. If they

they satisfie not, then they are to be Excommunicated ; and by the Publick Resolutions Excommunicated persons are excepted from being employed. The Vindication of their Assembly hath another Answer, that the Publick Resolutions were, *indeterminati juris*, as to any former Assembly. Where first I desire it to be observed, how one Defence interferreth with another. What a sad business is here ? some few Members of the Commission without advertisement sent to others, do, at the desire of the State, determine a matter of Doctrine with great precipitation ; contrary to received and known principles : and then they strain their wits to devise several sorts of Arguments to maintain the same. (1) What a strange conversion is here of Thousands all on a sudden, following upon an Act of Parliament ? bestowing places, though just now, many of them were in Arms against Religion and their Country, and others on their way to joyn with them. The State first nominates Malignant Officers, and then they come to make a bare shew of repentance before the Commission of the Kirk, and they accept it. (2) Observe, that it is not true which is alleged for defence of the Commission, that they prescribed good Rules, but the State transgressed them ; for according to the Commissions dilemma, brought to maintain their Resolutions, the State did not transgress the limits prescribed when they nominated persons not yet Excommunicated, for saith the Commission, If they satisfie not, they are to be Excommunicated, and so are excluded ; and to say the truth, the State could not think that the Commission judged any to be obstinate enemies, or notoriously flagitious, who neither were Excommunicated, nor under process of Excommunication ; and so the Commissioners of the Kirk were chief in the Transgression, for they did not Excommunicate any one Malignant in *Scotland*, but shortly after their Answer did relax from Excommunication a chief Malignant, who had been Excommunicated a little before their Answer, for being a Ring-leader of a present Rebellion. (3.) How contrary is that to former Principles, to reason from mens being admitted to Repentance, to their Employment in Places of Trust (for that is the thing complained of in the Protestation, and answered by this Reviewer) the Acts of Assembly 1648. 1649. and 1650. and Declarations of the Commissions of the Kirk, speak expressly against employing of Malignants, notwithstanding any outward satisfaction : Is not the solemn

solemn Acknowledgment of our great sin, in employing Malignants, made particularly in relation to the employing those who had given satisfaction to the Kirk? for none were employed in places of power and authority but such as had first satisfied the Kirk. Doth not the Assembly 1649, expressly distinguish betwixt Admission of Malignants to Repentance, and their Admission to Trust; which, even in Kirk Sessions, is discharged without express warrant of Assembly? And then (4) As to their Repentance. How few of the great multitudes admitted, were received, according to the Order prescribed in the General Assembly at *Glasgow*, and the General Assembly 1649? Upon Evidences, it was in the judgment of many judicious and pious men, the very Cap-stone of that Defection, that the Lords Ordinances were made to serve the corrupt ends and designs of men, and the mocking of Repentance, made a patent way to Trust and Preferment: What better was it, then if the Priests of old had admitted Lepers into the Lords House, and then to excuse themselves, had pronounced them all to be clean when the Leprosie had sprung up and spread in their bald-head; that certainly should be accounted a double guilt. As for those, which he saith, are free from new out-breakings, all that I know of that kind will hardly exceed (that which we could only call) a perfect number, their Repentance is very rare; it is too manifest that many of them have, according to their mutable principles, gone from one extrem to another. For his boasts of what he can speak, of any of the Protesters, they fear him not; only let him speak no more hereafter then he can make good; which is the best way to bring himself into credit again.

The other thing which he denyeth in this place, is, The subjecting of the liberty of the Word in the mouth of Christs Embassadors, to the immediate judicial cognizance, restraint and censure of the Civil Magistrate. This is so fully cleared in the Review of the Vindication, as I need, say nothing in answer to the Relation here made, only I observe this difference betwixt the Vindication and this Review, that the Vindication denieth that the Magistrate confined the Ministers of *Sterlin*, being stirred up thereunto by the Commissioners of the Assembly; and the Writer of this Paper, to avoid the inference that may be made upon the Magistrates judging them *in pri-ma-instantia*, saith, That the Magistrate did convene them upon a

Representation made by the Commissioners to the Committee of Estates, but he knoweth that the Commission of the Kirk had passed no judgment against these Ministers, nor indeed could they, walking within the bounds of their Commission; yet did they approve the Proceedings of the State, without so much as hearing the Defence of these Ministers, though present in the same town where they were sitting.

PROTESTATION Reviewed.

AS for their purging humor, which, time, with these sad dispensations, might have purged out of them; but belike it will never leave them. We grant indeed, the Kirk should be careful to purge out the old Leaven. All our Question is, anent the manner how: And I shall desire them in the fear of God, to consider whether their practise in this hath been in every thing squared to the Apostles Rules, 1 Tim. 5. 19. Tit. 3. 10. Gal. 6. 1. Jud. 22. 23. And Whether or not they made it a politick screw, to wind themselves into all places of power and Authority, Civil and Ecclesiastical, and a mean of revenge, exercising it uncharitably and unreasonably.

PROTESTATION Defended.

HOW offensive must this needs be both in the ears of God and good men, that one who pretends to be a Patron of an Assembly of the Kirk, should so publicly and scornfully reproach that necessary and covenanted duty which the Assemblies of the Kirk and their Commission, in their Declarations, Warnings, and Remonstrances, above the number of Twenty, have pressed upon the Parliament and Committee of Estates, from the Word of God and our Covenants, as they would avoid the Lords eternal wrath on themselves, and a curse upon the Land, and still challenged them as negligent and defective; in all which the men of most deserved estimation in their Assemblies had a very great hand. The Causes of Humiliation presented to the State before *Dumbar*, at *Leith*, and the Causes after *Dumbar* at *Sterlin*, shew and acknowledge, the not-purging the Judicatories and Armies, according to our Vows and Professions to be a great cause of the Lords wrath upon the Land;

after-

afterward he would seem not altogether to condemn the duty, and would state the difference upon the manner; and by the words he speaks and texts hinteth, he seems to desiderat justice, prudence, charity, and what not? It would please such a Master far better to sit idle then to work; but such, to whose hearts the Lord hath made the language of His Words to speak, though they do readily acknowledge a great mixture of humane infirmities in their performance of all duties; yet they are so far from thoughts of repenting what they have done in that matter, as they desire to mourn before the Lord, that the work of purging hath been so much slighted in all Judicatories both Ecclesiastical and Civil: Sometime he undervalues the Protesters as a company of young men of small account, and at other times he holds them forth as men who had a great sway in Judicatories of Kirk and State. He saith, Purging was made a politick screw, to wind into Power and Authority in Kirk and State. To which I answer in his own words, *That such heinous accusations must not be taken upon trust, when nothing is said to make them appear*; especially when they are spoken by a person who takes more pleasure to reproach then to reason. I am sure if it was before acceptable in Judicatories to speak for purging, it is now more acceptable to speak against it; and I think I may in the fear of the Lord, desire good men who were very industrious and zealous for purging the House of God, the Judicatories and Armies, and now are engaged in the way of the Publick Resolutions, to consider the boldness of this man (whom they do well enough know) and either to take with the thing he charges upon their former actings, and to let the world know that then they were wrong, but now are right, together with the Reasons of their change, or else to be sensible of their lifting up the head of such men, by declining to their way, and to remember whence they are fallen, and to repent.

PROTESTATION Reviewed.

AS for any power in any to carry Publick Determinations to any wrong ends, we can, and do bless God, the contrary is known to be true, and all the Assemblies Determinations speak the same language to the whole World; yea, I hope to their consciences also, when the heat of their passions is a little allayed.

has, and the same has been the case for many years, and the world is now
 on a new and better footing. **PROTESTATION Defended.**

THE Acts made in their Assembly at *Dundee* and at *Edinburgh*
 of Magistrate faithful Ministers, Elders and Expectants (from which
 some of the best of them dissented), do evidence; That Publick Determina-
 tions are carried to wrong ends; which made a worthy Brother,
 (a Member of the late Assembly at *Edinburgh*) gravely to tell them
 when these Acts and Overtures passed, That the words of the Pro-
 phet *Micah* against the Prophets in his dayes; might be applyed to
 them; *chap. 3. v. 35. They bite with their teeth, and say; Peace*
He saith; That the Assemblies Determinations speak the same lan-
guage as their late Assembly at Edinburgh speaks the same language
with that of Dundee; but neither of them speak the language of
former Assemblies since our Reformation, as the Paper's sent to them
from the Keeper of the Registers of the Assembly (which they re-
fused to read) do fully shew. Their language is the same with that of
the Parliament and Committee of Estates 1648, pleading for the
Unlawful Engagement. It doth also well agree with the Kings
Declarations; and the Oxfordian Questions Arguments from the
light of Nature and practice of Nations, for employing Papists to de-
fend his Person and the Protestant Religion; as their Arguments are
for bringing in Maligants to defend the work of Reformation; and
the Protesters language is the same with the Declaration and An-
swer of the Commission of the Kirk and General Assembly 1648.
and the Reply made in the year 1642, whereby it doth appear
whose word is yea and nay, 2 Cor. 13. 7, 19. and who walk in the
same steps, and in the same spirit, 12 Cor. 12. 18. and who build up
gain which they desire to build up, and who condemn themselves in
that which they follow, Rom. 14. 23.

PROTESTATION Reviewed.

FOR the following words, which are of the stamp of the former,
 I shall only add, That men of every doctrine should not at
 their full length may expect of them; if their former writings had
 not sufficiently cleared their present expressions from any of it doubt.
 2. It is not one of the characteristic properties of the Gospel, to be

oft assuming that Title. 3. Such bawinous accusations must not be taken upon: trustful when none but is said to make them appear: and I believe, the Assembly knoweth of none received to the Minister's story, but according to the Publick Order, and when ought shall appear to the contrary, will take such course therewith as is in justice. accordeth to the Liberty of the Church of Scotland.

PROTESTATION Defended. as above.

TO the first I answer, that he doth well to grant, that the present expressions and former actings of the Protesters do agree, the like cannot be said of all that are for the Publick Resolutions; though it be too true of many of them, the Protesters are indeed for purging out all insufficient, scandalous & ill-affect'd; but that is very far from judging such as come not up the full length that they desire; he knoweth what measure faithful Ministers and Professors got in their Acts at *Dundee*; and he may remember his own intimation page 5. of a necessity to hold them as Heathens and Publicans. To the second I say, that they do neither often assume, nor at all appropriate (as he saith elsewhere) the title of Godly to themselves; the subscribers of the Protestation are speaking of others to whom these of best account in their Assemblies, will not deny the testimony of godlinesse; and yet when they are reproached and condemned, they may even concerning themselves, use some freedom in their Vindication, for which there be diverse examples in Scripture. To the third, seeing that Assembly to which the Protestation was presented, account themselves a Judicatory, why did they not acknowledge the relevancie of the grounds; and then they might have desired the Protesters to prove them; wherein if they had failed, the Assembly had the greater advantage; but they were loath to put the businesse upon that issue. To the fourth, I desire him to consider what Mr. *John Knox* said to the Councell of *England*, when they challenged him for doing contrary to the Publick order, his reason was (said he) because their Publick order was contrary to Christ's order: And so is their Publick order at *Dundee* contrary to the first good old constant order of this Kirk, established according to the Word of God, which was to be very watchfull in admission of Ministers, as appeareth by Mr. *Knox* his last Letter to the

Generall Assembly, a litle before his death. But doth not the Writer of this Paper know, that some deposed Ministers are admitted contrary to publick Order of the Assembly 1649, and 1650, in severall places, and particularly within the Synod of *Tivdale* and *Mers*? I believe he is not ignorant of it, and however, I am sure a great part, if not the most part of the Assembly did know it: and the whole Assembly might have known it, if they did examine Synod-Books and their Proceedings. А Т Е Т О Р

PROTESTATION Reviewed.

FOR their allusion to the Prophets Words, I shall desire them seriously to read them again; and perpend if in conscience they be applicable to the present points of differences. Next, they tell us, it shall be their purpose to maintain the Doctrine, Worship, Discipline and Government of this Kirk; and particularly the Nationall Assemblies; so long as they are preserved from corruption in the constitution thereof: But many need better Arguments to perswade them of this, than their bare Profession or practise this year and the last; Of which we may well say, what ever be the purpose of men, it is evidently the aim of the devil to ruine Generall Assemblies, and so to raze the walls of our Jerusalem; And they woul do well to consider if, and how far they have been instrumentall to drive on that design.

PROTESTATION Defended.

THE Prophets words were well considered before they were set down in the Protestation; and they are very applicable to the Party of which the Protesters speak: It is known to the World what some of the Protesters have done for maintenance of the Government of this Kirk; I may say of them all without any boast, that they have done more for it, then any who question the reality of their Professions: There is no doubt but it is the Devils design to ruine Generall Assemblies; and every Ordinance of Christ if he could, but the way by which Satan hath most advanced that design hath been through their own corruption, and when they were faithful, opposition hath little prevailed.

PROTESTATION Reviewed.

But they would make some clearing here, by telling us, that all who are acquainted with the principles and practices of our worthy Predecessors, and of the learned & godly non-conformists in England, will easily see how far they are from their judgments and practices, who follow the wayes of separation. Belike they still dwell beside evil neighbours; but which is worse, they are hardly believed, when men call to mind and consider how now of a long time still they took the patronage of all that were suspected to follow those wayes. 2. What progress some of their chief and cryed-up men have made in those wayes. 3. What affection they still carry to them, and how familiarly they converse with them, even although excommunicate. 4. But especially how unavoidable separation is upon their grounds: For, if it be a matter of conscience for them to joyn with others in Civil duties, that necessarily belong to the Incorporation, whereof both are members, sure much more in Ecclesiastick. But a little time will further clear this.

PROTESTATION Defended.

Here he bends all his endeavours to make it appear, that the Protesters incline to separation; but he answers not what is said in the Protestation for their vindication, to wit, that their wayes are agreeable to the principles and practices of their Predecessors and the Non-conformists in England, he brings four considerations why the professions of the Protesters are not believed. First, he saith, that the Protesters still took the patronage of all that were suspected to follow these wayes; but what doth all this amount unto? For he saith not that they patronized these who followed, but those who were suspected to follow the wayes of separation. It is well known that too many have an evil eye against Reformation, and have suspected all that hath been done these fourteen years in the Lords Work, as tending to separation: But what will he say for his associates, who have not onely taken the patronage of men suspected for Malignancy, but of these that were condemned and excom-

municated for being murderers of the People of God ; yea, and what if they have recommended them to Publick trust and employment? To that which he alleageth in the second place, I answer, that this is the old Prelaticall song against the Non-conformists, because some of their number turned Separatists: therefore to say that they were all for separation, though they kept Christs middle way between extreams, and did much more against Separation by Word, Writ and Print, then all the Prelaticall Party; And I may say the like of the Protesters, that they have taken more pains by word and writ, to prevent and remedy the declining of some to the ways of Separation, then all that are for the Publick Resolutions have done. Beside he would consider what is said in the Representation which was given in before the Protestation : *How great a snare your former actions, which were not to edification have been to some people to tempt them to the way of separation, and to the shaking of the government of this Church, &c.* He may also bethink himself what great numbers of these that were most zealous for the Publick Resolutions, have either departed from their Principles to the contrary way, against which they were fighting the former year; or otherwise, if they be still walking upon their principles, it is true which the Protesters alleage, that the Publick Resolutions lay a foundation for conjunction with all parties whatsoever. To the third I say, that he hath forgotten the rules recommended by him to the Protesters in the preceding page, anent purging out scandalous, insufficient and ill-affected Ministers. Will he not allow the same moderation to men reputed godly, when they fall into an error of judgment? He recommended to the Protesters consideration. *1. Tim. 5. 19. Tit. 2. 3. Gal. 1. Brethren, if a man be overtaken in a fault, ye which are spirituall restore such an one in the spirit of meeknesse, considering thy self lest thou also be tempted.* He recommended also *1. Jude 22 23. and of some have compassion, making a difference, and others save with fear, &c.* I wish these rules had been observed in the excommunication of some: for rash censures, bring authority in contempt. I adde unto these another place, *2. Thess. 3. 14, 15. and if any man obey not our word by this Epistle, note that man, and have no company with him, that he may be ashamed, and yet count him not as an enemy, but admonish him as a brother.* And I say no more, but desire that he and his party may be

be as studious to observe these rules in their censures, as the Protesters are desirous to make conscience of keeping these rules in their conversation. As for his fourth consideration, he mistakes the question, there was more in the case of non-concurrence with the Forces of the Kingdom, then association with Malignants: for the state of the quarrell was changed from what was agreed on by State, Kirk and Army, before the fight at *Dunbar*, as hath been shewed before. Next, the interest and ends of the War were changed, when the Malignant Party became the predominant and prevalent part in Judicatories and Armies; It is one thing to joyn with a few evil doers in a great Army: It is another thing to joyn with the Congregation of evil doers; and where notorious evil doers bear the sway and rule in government. There was a third thing, that though all were clear against the unlawfulness of the Association, and did concur to oppose it; yet very heedlesly severall were made to scruple in their meetings; and their hands were weakened by the States fighting and rejecting the offer of a Treaty for peace, which was made by Generall and Councell of the English Forces not long after the fight at *Dunbar*; seeing it had been an easie matter in a few dayes to have made tryall and discovery, whether there was any reality in that offer or not; but not so much as an answer was returned by word or writing to that Letter, notwithstanding that it was once resolved on by the most part of the Members of the Committee of Estates that were then present at *Stirling*. Now it is evident, that these things are of a different nature from the question about separation from worship, because of the list of fellow-worshippers. But yet further I say, there are many clear differences betwixt non-concurrence with the Malignant Party in Arms, according to the Publick Resolutions & separations from the Ordinances of God, for the sines of fellow-worshippers; for in acts of worship, the effect is to every man according to his faith, but in fighting together there is one common effect, & relateth to all; & all must share therein, according as the Lord dispenseth a victory or defeat; now the Lord is with his friends and blesseth them; and against his enemies and curseth them; therefore *Isaiah* 64. and *Amos* 1. are forbidden conjunction with Israel; 2 *Chro.* 19. and 25. And to expresse it further, I give this Instance, that when men joyn in Armes, they fight one for another; but in participation of the Sacrament they

do not Communicate one for another; also there is no implicite obedience to be given in Acts of Worship as there must be in war in some cases: For inferior Officers and Souldiers are sworn to obedience by their military Oath, and if they should refuse untill they understood a reason for the command given them, it would be judged Mutiny, and worthy of death: Therefore friends, and not our bloody Enemies are to be intrusted as Commanders, likewise there are not such Commands, Prohibitions and Covenants in the one case as the other; and we see in Scripture that *Jehosaphat* and *Amaziah* are forbidden conjunction with the Israelites in war, yet in case the same Israelites had come to *Jerusalem* to Worship, *Jehosaphat* and *Amaziah* had been obliged to joyn with them in Acts of Worship; there be diverse other differences, but because they are set down in other Papers for answering the same Objection, I shall not repeat them here. In the last place I shall add a further consideration, and that is even in the case of abstaining from conjunction with these that not onely come the length of profession, but seriously to essay to joyn themselves with the Church, which it seems this Reviewer doth condemn as altogether unlawfull in any case whatsoever. There is great difference betwixt open enmity against the Lord and his Work, and bloody persecution of his People, and betwixt common scandals; these two are not to be confounded together, for actuall enmity suspendeth the duty of all relations, so long as it is continued, even between Father and son, and husband and wife, at least these duties which cannot be performed without reall danger; for natures light teacheth, that one would not trust himself on the same bed or roum with another whom he had found diverse times endeavouring to cut his throat; but common scandals do not suspend the duty of relations, for a son is bound to do duty to a father under censure for grosse scandals. Before *Dumbar* the Remonstrators did joyn in Armes with known scandalous persons, yet they would have scrupled to have joyned in Councils and Armes with notourly treacherous Rebels, that had been active and frequent in shedding the blood of the Lords People, unlesse they had seen evidences that they had repented of that enmity: But to make good what is before said, see *Acts* 9. 26. The Disciples at *Jerusalem* were all afraid to joyn with *Paul* who had been a persecutor, and believed not that he was a Disciple, though he essayed

to joyn himself to them, and no doubt *Paul* being so wise a man, and knowing how great offence his former carriage had given, did declare to some of them the manner of his conversion, when he did essay to joyn himself, yet he could not obtain this without *Barnabas* his testimony to the Apostles anent the sincerity of his conversion; It is wel said by *Calvin* upon the place, *Et timendum erat ne periculum sibi temere acceperent si prebuisent se adeo faciles itaque timorem illis iusta de causa conceptum nemo vitio vertere debet, nam si ad redandam fidei rationem vocati fuissent non Paulum modo, sed omnes inferiorum furias intrepide provocassent.* It is the judgment of some Divines upon *Gal. 16, 17, 18* that *Paul* had then been three years preaching after his Conversion at *Damascus*, and in *Arabia*, before he came to *Jerusalem*; which if so, may further strengthen the Argument if there were need; and however *Acts 22 18*. Such was the Lords gracious condescendence (far different from the imperious and boisterous way of rulers upon earth) that though upon right information concerning *Paul*, all scruples might have been removed, yet he gave command to *Paul* to depart from *Jerusalem*, *make haste* (saith the Lord) *and get thee quickly out of Jerusalem, for they will not receive thy Testimony concerning me*; As for *Pauls* answer although Interpreters differ about the meaning thereof, yet it is most probable that his words are a confirmation of what the Lord had said, and an humble confession that they had reason to scruple in receiving his Testimony; and if *Paul* had been offering a reason to the Lord for his stay at *Jerusalem*, as some think, he would have added something about the reality of his Conversion, as *Barnabas* did for him, *Acts 9. 27*. But however, the Lord reneweth his Command, *vers. 21. Depart for I will send thee far hence to the Gentiles.* These considerations, together with the present practice of the Protesters may suffice to Vindicate them from such calumnies.

PROTESTATION Reviewed.

AS for an Argument drawn from the disclaiming corrupt Assemblies at Glasgow, or the following Assembly at Edinburgh, its affirming those corrupt Assemblies, were a chief cause of the evils we then groaned under. How weak, I say, such an Argu-

ment will be for justifying their present practice; is palpable to any who will either look to the matter concluded in those corrupt Meetings, or the manner of their procedure, or the particular reasons whereon they were condemned, in all which there being nothing alike; I wonder why they are alledged, except perhaps, they know many of their Proselytes will take upon trust, whatsoever cometh from them, or seemeth to borrow countenance from Glasgow.

PROTESTATION Defended.

IT is to be observed, that where the Protestation upon good ground saith, *That the second Assembly after this last Reformation hath clearly determined the keeping and authorizing corrupt Generall Assemblies to have been one of the chief causes of the many evils which have befallen this Church*; he onely saith that it affirmed that these corrupt Assemblies were a chief cause &c. If any of the Protesters, had spoken so barely of so solemn an Act and determination of the Generall Assembly, it had been a Crime to have been noted with great Letters; but he also passeth over these words, *keeping and authorizing these corrupt Assemblies*, which are the words of the Act, and of no small use in this debate betwixt them and the Protesters; and if the late Assembly be corrupt, the forbearing to keep them, and to concur for authorizing them is so far from separation, that it is a duty so to do. In the next place, I observe that he seems to grant the nullity of the late Assemblies, if they be like unto the six corrupt Assemblies, either in matter, manner or reasons condemning the same; and if he shall be pleased diligently to peruse the Review of the late Vindication, he may see their likeness in all the three; though he yeeld that one of them is enough; As to that bitter scoff, saying, *That the Protesters know many of their Proselytes will take upon trust whatsoever cometh from them, or seemeth to borrow countenance from Glasgow*. I wish the Writer of this Paper had as great ability and dexterity to speak in things concerning Edification, and the promoting of godliness, as he hath for jeers and scoffs, wherein he seemeth to speak as one who had delighted to exercise himself therewith from his youth; but surely he is greatly mistaken in the truth of what he

saith

faith, and if he shal ask these whom he calleth Profelites, I trust he shall find them in some measure able to render a reason of their doings, and that they act from a Principle of knowledge, and not of ignorance.

PROTESTATION Reviewed.

They say they have a clear warrant from Scripture, to plead and testifie against corruptions: It is, indeed, but withall they should have better grounds then any we have yet heard of, or can conceive, before they trouble the Peace of a Kirk, and so peremptorily conclude that a corruption, which they cannot prove one; yea what all, not onely reformed Churches from the light of Scripture are perswaded of, but even generally all people from the light of nature, and upon the Principles of self-preservation, are convinced is a duty.

We passe for the present to give any verdict, concerning some by-past Acts of theirs (which they mention) how good they were, or how true. What is said being sufficient to clear, that this their Protestation is also needlesse (to say no worse) as the following grounds given for it are frivolous, which themselves seem in part to assent to, while they say, they do it for all or some of the reasons following, and so insinuate, that some of them will not hold water, which (in my humble opinion) they might safely have affirmed of them all.

PROTESTATION Defended.

When the Protesters bring Arguments from the Word of God, from sworn Covenants, and the Acts and Declarations of this Kirk, to prove a defection in this Kirk, and that in the Publick Resolutions they have departed from former Principles then this Reviewer takes himself to generall Arguments from the light of nature, and self-preservation, &c. Which sheweth that he hath nothing to answer in particular to the Arguments brought against

gainst them: Many Acts and Declarations of this Kirk have been made use of in former Papers against the Publick Resolutions, but never any one Act or Declaration could be produced for them; all their arguments from the light of nature have been answered formerly by the Protesters, and it hath been shewed that it is against nature's light to associate with actuall enemies and bloudy rebels, they have but a poor plea to plead before consciences but, to say that nature taught them to pronounce absolution to all the Malignant Party, and to declare them friends to the Lord, his Work and People, without evidences of Repentance, to the end they might be strengthened by their help and assistance for defence of Religion and the Country. It is a sad matter that Ministers of the Word of God, who should magnifie the Law and make it honourable should make it a handmaid to the light of nature, whereby it is to be feared the Lord may be provoked to remove Scripture light from his seers, and to let them walk in the light of their own fire, and in the sparks which they have kindled. I do not easily believe, that he who delights so much in reflections and aspersions against the se whom he disliketh, would passe any by-past acts of the Protesters (as he saith) if there were any thing he could with any shew of reason quarrell, yet he concludes the Protestation was needlesse, and the grounds of it frivolous, and he would fetch a proof hereof from themselves, because they say they do *Protest for all or some of the reasons following*, which saith, he doth insinuate that *some of them wil not hold water*: But he wittingly omitteth in the same place that they do also Protest upon the grounds before mentioned, wherein they all did agree, and these alone had been sufficient to infer the conclusion. The true reason of that expression, *for all or some of the reasons following* was this, There were amongst the Protesters against the late corrupt Assembly at *Edinburgh*, diverse who were fully perswaded concerning the unlawfulness of the Publick Resolutions, and accounted the Assembly at *Dundee* corrupt, for the matter, yet had some doubts anent the form, but perceiving this year a corrupt constitution continued according to that corrupt act, and rule of constitution of Assemblies made at *Dundee*, they were clear, that it was their duty to Protest against this Assembly at *Edinburgh*, as corrupt in the form and constitution: But the most part by far were clear, that it was a duty to Protest against the constitution

tion of that Assembly at *St. Andrews* and *Dundee*, yet did not judge it expedient to make two severall Protestations because of this difference when they agreed in the main: Therefore that all might joyn in one Protestation, that manner of expression was used; and what hath this Reviewer to insult in against the Protesters when all the matter is, that the number of the Protesters against the late Assembly at *Edinburgh* is increased above the number of Protesters against their Assembly at *St. Andrews*.

PROTESTATION Reviewed.

THeir first reason is, That this Meeting hath its dependance, power and authority for its indiction, from that of *St. Andrews* and *Dundee*. Is not that to beg the question? and besides, hath no weight, neither in respect of us who hold and have determined it a free lawfull Generall Assembly, as indeed it was, and doth appear from the Vindication thereof, a nervous piece not yet answered, nor easily answerable; Nor in respect of themselves, and their Principles, who in their Arguments against that Assembly, do determine that Presbyteries may by mutuall consent, meet in a free, lawfull Generall Assembly; now the Commissions directed to this, do presuppose and import the mutual consent of Presbyteries.

PROTESTATION Defended.

IT is not a begging the Question, because the Reasons given in the Protestation against the Assembly at *St. Andrews* are cleared and confirmed, and that Vindication which he extolleth as a nervous unanswerable piece, is fully and convincingly answered, and refuted in the Review of that Vindication, and the Nullity of that Assembly therein demonstrated: and however the Writer of this Paper is pleased to commend the Vindication of that Assembly, yet the weak grounds held forth therein by a man of such abilities, have confirmed some concerning the unlawfulness of that Assembly. The
strength

strength of the first reason given in the Protestation lyeth in this: That the Assembly which met at *St. Andrews*, and adjourned to *Dundee*, being unfree, unlawfull and corrupt, and having neither power nor authority to make Acts obligatory of this Kirk, much lesse to censure any Member thereof, or to make rules for Election of Commissioners to ensuing Generall Assemblies, nor to Conveen them according to these rules, as they pretend in their Acts, and the Acts of their Commission; the following Assembly at *Edinburgh* convened by that pretended authority can be in no better capacity then the pretended Assembly which did so convene it, seeing they could not communicate that to another that which they had not in themselves; and albeit he thinketh that this suteth not with their new Principles, yet it suteth well with the Principles of the Protesters, and sound reason; and it maketh nothing against this, that Protesters hold that Presbyteries may by an intrensecall power meet in a free lawfull Generall Assembly without such pre-limitations, and according to the rules let down in uncontraverted Assemblies, but it speaketh against them who rejected such an Overture made at the meeting 12. May 1652. and would have no Assembly but such an one as did depend upon the Authority and Acts of the Assembly at *Dundee*.

PROTESTATION Reviewed.

Their second reason is, That it is constitute after the same manner, and (for the most part) of the same members that the last Assembly was, to wit, of persons that have carried on a course of defection, and in respect hereof, are incapable of being Commissioners; which again beggeth the Question, and besides that, it is answered in the fore cited Vindication, includeth this falshood, that they are (for the most part) the same Members constituent, whereas the Rolls compared will clear, that not the third man who was present the last year are Members of this, neither did this Moderator precede in that challenged Commission of the Kirk, nor was so much as present at it. But especially this Argument our Remonstra-

tors have borrowed from the Remonstrants of the Netherlands, their Protestation against the Council of Dort; at which meeting, it was largely and learnedly refused; as, may be seen in the Judgements of the Orthodox Divines thereupon.

PROTESTATION, Defended.

HE is still in the wrong to say the Protesters beg the Question for what is asserted in the Protestation was before the making thereof, clearly proved in former Papers; he doth often cast in the Protesters way that Vindication, but it seems he had not then seen the Review of that Vindication; else he would not think it difficult to be answered; he doth by this time know (I think) that it is answered in all the parts thereof, and very particularly in that concerning the Argument of the Remonstrants of the Netherlands, which is well refuted and retorted. In this place he alleadgeth that the Protesters second reason includeth a falshood: But if it be a falshood, it is one of his own devising, and yet he would impute it to the Protesters, for he doth foist in two words, at two severall places; in the first place he puts in the the word [and] in the second place he puts in the word [same] then in the third place he leaves out the word [constituent] and so altereth the sense of the words; the words of the Protestation are these, *It is constitute after the same manner for the most part of the Members constituent, as the former pretended Assembly, of persons which were authors and abettors of, and have carried on a course of defection,* of which words he maketh this false repetition, *that it is constitute after the same manner and for the most part, of the same Members that the last Assembly was, &c.* And yet he would charge the Protesters with a falshood; how like is this to the Thief that did steal his Neighbours purse, and put into an honest mans pocket, and then stirred up him that wanted the Purse to challenge the honest man for a thief. That which the Protestation saith is, *That the most part of the Members constituent of the Assembly at Edinburgh, are Authors and Abettors of, and have carried on a course of defection,* as the Members constituent of the pretended Assembly at St. Andrews had done contrary to the Word of God, Covenant, solemn Acknowledg-

ment

ment and Engagement, expresse Acts and Declarations of this Kirk, and being under so great a scandal, are by the Acts of the Kirk incapable to be Members of a Generall Assembly. But indeed now this Reviewer giveth occasion to think upon that which he calleth a falshood, and though the Protestation saith nothing of the same persons being Members of the Assembly at *Edinburgh*, that were Members at *St. Andrews*, as he would have the Protestation to speak, yet there is more truth in that, then he is willing to expresse, for the chief leading men for the Publick Resolutions were constituent Members of the Assembly at *Edinburgh*, and of the grand Committee, and of the Committee appointed for Conference with the Protesters. As to that he saith of their Moderators, not being at the Commission at *Perth*, it might have been foreborn, and I take no pleasure to remember how instrumentall he was otherwise.

PROTESTATION Reviewed.

THE third reason is, because of the pre limitation of Elections, by the Acts made at Dundee injoyning Synods and Presbyteries to proceed to censure all who oppose the Publick Resolutions, or should not acquiesce to the Acts made at Dundee, and so excludeth all not involved in the course of defection, from Elections, in pursuance whereof, there were sundry pre-limitations made since, by several Synods and Presbyteries. For answer, I would enquire with what conscience this Argument is proponed by them, who (for ought I know) are clear against the major, and cannot be ignorant of the vanity or nullity of the minor. Their major must be, no Assembly that is pre limited, can be free. But to passe the judicious considerations thereof in the learned Vindication, sure I am, themselves will never assent to any Assembly in this Kirk, without strange pre-limitations, yea and pre-conclusions too; as they did signifie at the Meeting and Conference in May last. And for the Minor, there were pre-limitations here, I pray you what?

Such

Such as may nullifie an Assembly? No such thing. Is a future Assembly pre-limited, because aprior determined the qualification of its Members? Was the Parliament 1649. pre-limited and unfree, because the Committee of Estates excluded therefrom, all that sate and voiced in the former? Or the Assembly of Glasgow because the Tables appointed and laid down a way who should be elected thereto, and who not? Or all future Assemblies, because that of Glasgow excludeth from them all that shall not take the National Covenant? Whither doth their passion lead them to plead the Episcopal cause? Besides, did not the Letter of the Commission in May last, require of Presbyteries to chuse faithful and honest men? Which, whatever some have said, was no sinful pre-limitation. Adde, although the Act of Dundee requires Presbyteries and Synods to proceed with the Censures of the Church against them, who after conference opposed the Publick Resolutions (not as they say, with a disjunctive, or who shall not acquiesce to the Acts made) yet hath no Presbtery nor Synod that I know, censured any upon that account, or excluded any from voicing in Elections; but rather all Presbyteries did require them thereto. Now, if they might elect, they might also by the same reason be elected; but themselves fore-seeing that, in few Presbyteries obtainable; where ever they were, they refused and dissented, being probably themselves pre-limited by the order and advice of their Ring-leaders. Lastly, it is at best, needlessly added, that there were several limitations since, in several Synods, I beleieve there will be nothing else found but the same, viz. The assertion of the Constitution of the Assembly of Dundee, which we will not grant, and they cannot prove to be such a pre-limitation, as is destructive of the freedom of an Assembly.

PROTESTATION *Defended.*

Certainly this Reviewer either hath not read and considered the Reasons of the Protesters upon this subject, or otherwise it would seem he is *valde perfricta fronte*, that can enquire with what conscience this Argument is propounded. He saith, their *major* must be, no Assembly that is prelimited, is free, and that they cannot be ignorant of the vanity of the *minor* : But their Argument is, That no Assembly prelimited in the free Election of Commissioners by secluding and making incapable those who may, and should be chosen according to the Acts of this Kirk, and by including solely those, who according to the Acts of this Kirk, are incapable, is a free Assembly : But such was this late pretended Assembly, *Ergo*. The Protesters never asserted, nor assented unto such pre-limitations, and pre-conclusions as this Reviewer speaks of; and he doth well to suppose that there were such pre-limitations in their late Assemblies; but he is much to blame that he studyeth to confound pre-limitations of the freedom of an Assembly, with due qualifications of its Members, agreeable to the Word of God, to our Covenants, and the Constitutions of this Kirk, as if these were one & the same. If he think that in the Rules of Constitution of the Assembly at *Glasgow*, or any other Assembly since that time preceding their late Assen. at *S. Andrews*, there was any other thing required but these due qualifications of Members before mentioned; let him speak out, that his mind may be known; and for their Act and Letter, and Publick Papers 1651. and their late Acts at *Dundee*, excluding all that differ from the Publick Resolutions: he will never be able to prove those to be such: he is begging the Question indeed, when he supposeth that Assembly at *Dundee* to be a free lawful Assembly, determining the qualification of Members. He tels us, that in the Assembly at *Glasgow*, all were excluded that did not take the National Covenant: But that was no prelimitation of due freedom, it was a requisit qualification. Indeed, if the Assembly at *Glasgow* had secluded all that did take the Covenant, from being Members of any Assembly, and had appointed, that Assemblies should consist only of such as had opposed the Covenant, and concurred in the course of Defection, as the late Assembly at *Dundee* hath done in the

the case of the Publick Resolutions ; it had been a prelimitation of the freedom of Assemblies, and it had been great unfaithfulness not to have given testimony against the same. It would seem by the Argument, which this Reviewer hath framed, That if the Assembly at *Dundee* had brought in the Prelats and Service-Book-men, to be Members of the Assembly at *Edinburgh*, he would have sustained it to be a free lawful General Assembly, for saith he (very loosely, without restriction according to the Word of God, Covenants and Constitutions of this Kirk) a prior Assembly determined the qualification of its Members. Surely these who have brought in the Malignant party *ipseem viis modis & methodis*, may bring in the Prelatical party, and thereafter the Popish party. The Covenant is as expressly against Malignants, as against Prelats and Papists. Both Prelats and Papists can dissemble as well as the Malignants, and a pretended necessity may be soon found out for seeking their help, and assistance for relief of a distressed Land.

The Letter of the Commission in *May* last, did require the chusing Commissioners to the Assembly, to be done according to the known and ordinary Rules of Election. Now if the Authority of that Commission of the Assembly at *Dundee* be acknowledged, how can any man conceive that they understand by known and ordinary Rules any other then these which are established by the Assembly at *Dundee*, from whom they had their Commission, it being a known and ordinary Rule, not to choose such to be Commissioners as were censured by the last Assembly, or whom they appointed Presbyteries to process and censure ; and so all that differ from the Publick Resolutions must be excluded from Election, which, whatsoever this Reviewer hath said, is a sinful pre-limitation. He granteth, that the Assembly at *Dundee* did by their Act, require Presbyteries and Synods to proceed with the Censures of the Kirk against them, who after conference oppose the Publick Resolutions ; but all the Copies which I have seen or heard of, have also this disjunctive, Or who shall not acquiesce to their Acts and Constitutions ; but the difference is not great, seeing they well know that such who for conscience sake cannot acquiesce, will, as they are called thereunto by providence, testify their dislike of the Publick Resolutions, which in the judgment of men zealous for the Publick Resolutions, will be accompted opposition. But, saith he, The Presbyteries have

not put these Acts into execution. . . I desire to know how he will reconcile their principles and practises herein ; for if the Assembly at *Dundee* did right in making these Acts, the Presbyteries do wrong in not executing them ; the forbearance of the Presbyteries is either from policy, as was done in their Assembly at *St. Andrews*, which is well discovered by the Review of the Vindication. Or it is from conscience, because the Presbyteries do think that the dissenters from the Publick Resolutions deserve not censure, but are capable of being elected Commissioners, and if so, then the same conscience cannot but tell them that the Acts at *Dundee* are wrong and unjust. As for the prelimitations in Synods, he saith, they were nothing else but an assertion of the Constitution of the Assembly at *Dundee*. But that Constitution was made up of persons scandalous for defection from the Covenant and Cause, which was never denied in this Kirk to be destructive of the freedom of an Assembly, except at this time, and in former corrupt Assemblies. If it were needful, Acts, Orders, and practises of Twenty General Assemblies can be produced against the admission of such to sit as Members ; but that controversy is so well handled in the Review of the Vindication, as it standeth not in need of my Additions.

PROTESTATION Reviewed.

THe fourth Reason is made up of many Particulars, which we thus particularly reply to. 1. There are many Presbyteries who refuse to send Commissioners to this Meeting, as an Assembly. But there be many unquestioned Assemblies have been made up of fewer Members, as upon the inspection of the Rols will appear. Neither is a Meeting that hath no determinate Quorum, evacuate or made null, because a Minor part legally warned, cannot, or will not come thereto ; as the perpetual practise of Presbyteries, Synods, former Assemblies, and Parliaments sheweth. Nor is the number of the Absents here so great ; and although it were greater, it is not their simple absence, but unjust exclusion, that rendreth the meeting ob-

noxious to exception. 2. They say, there are many Presbyteries that do concur in protesting against this Assembly. To which I reply, We have heard of dissents, but not of any Protestation, except this, which they now have given, which if they mean here, as the Protestation is not Presbyterial, so the Reason will be found to have no more of Reason in it, then if they had argued thus; We find our selves necessitated to protest against this Assembly, because we have protested against it. Or thus; This our Protestation is just and lawful, because we have protested.

PROTESTATION Defended.

TO the fourth Reason of the Protestation he answereth cunningly. There are diverse things put together, which he takes asunder, and answereth severally, making use of a common fallacy, *adevisis ad conjuncta*. But suppose one of these alone to be (as he alleageth) a defect in an Assembly, which in some cases might be dispenced with, yet that will not hold, if all the five Considerations be taken together, as is done by the General Assembly at *Glasgow* in the like case. As for his Answer to the first of these Considerations, he granteth, That unjust exclusion rendreth the Meeting obnoxious to exception. And I trust, it is sufficiently proved in the Review of the Vindication and Papers printed therewith, That there is an unjust exclusion, by the Acts made at *Dundee*, which stand still unrepealed, and in effect acknowledged by the Assembly at *Edinburgh*: And if the Act at *Dundee* anent the Constitution of Assemblies be acknowledged to be just and right, then subsequent Assemblies, otherwise constituted, are by the Acts of this Kirk null and void; so that until that Rule of Constitution, made at *Dundee*, be disclaimed, Whether opposers of Publick Resolutions be admitted or not) subsequent Assemblies are still questionable; therefore there was a necessity to protest, or else to give way to a corrupt Constitution of Assemblies hereafter, which is as poison in the fountain, a defect in the cause, an error in the principles and foundation, and hath an universal influence in the streams, effect and super-structure.

structure. He affirmeth, that these Presbyteries which refused to send Commissioners, were legally warned : But there can be no legal warning, where there was no Authority to give a warning. He granteth there were dissents ; but denieth (in his Answer to the second Consideration) that there were any Protestations made in Presbyteries, but Protestations were only needful in those Presbyteries which refused to put Dissents upon record. To the rest of what he saith there, I say no more, but if he had known that several Presbyteries did send two or three of their number, warranted by Commission, to protest ; he might have spared his censure of a supposed tautology.

PROTESTATION Reviewed.

WHere Presbyteries have sent Commissioners, the Elections are generally controverted, there being Protestations made, at least dissents entered, against most of their Elections, upon good grounds. But here (I think) a special providence hath ruled, that there was no Protestation. In most Presbyteries there were no dissents at all ; and all that we heard of, were simply against the Elections, not against the persons elected besides that, they were not prosecute, nor brought in, to be discussed. And a dissent inferreth not by the Act of the Assembly a suspending, let be a repealing of the Act of the Judicatory ; Only it maketh the Judges liable to the censure of their Superiors, for what they have done ; which if it be amiss, the dissenter is not involved in their guilt or censure ; but if not, he is censurable himself. And if it were other-ways, we should absurdely be forced to confess, that every Member of a Judicatory hath a negative voice, which will open a door, whereby every faction may elide all General Assemblies for ever.

PROTESTATION *Defended.*

FOr his answer to the third, it is replied, That there were dissents, or otherwise, no Commissioners sent in, more then most part of Presbyteries, as was found upon tryall by the Protesters in the very time of that Assembly; Where there was no Election, there needed not a dissent, and where dissents were entered, there needed not Protestation; and if the dissents were against the election, it doth necessarily infer a not election of the persons; and for the prosecution of these dissents, they were timeously objected against in their Assembly at the reading of the Commissions, and an offer made to prosecute them, if according to the constant practice of this Kirk the Commissions should be laid aside untill they were tried; but this was rejected, contrary to the known rules acknowledged, even by the Assembly, and the so much cryed up Vindication, to wit, that a dissent entered in the Presbyterie, and timeously proponed in the Assembly, and offered to be prosecuted, should be a ground to lay aside contraverted Commissions, untill the relevancie of the reasons of dissent be examined, and proof made of what is alleaged, *sed ubi semel deerratum est in praeceptis ruitur.*

PROTESTATION *Reviewed.*

THere be wanting Commissioners from Burghs, in respect of their present incapacity. We need say no more to this, since themselves answer it, that they are in an incapacity: and suppose they were not, yet have they not a negative voice. Besides that, all were not absent.

PROTESTATION *Defended.*

TO his fourth Answer I say, that he knoweth that the Assembly at Glasgow made use of this joyntly with other reasons for nullifying the Pretended Assemblies, and their being in an incapacity ought to have carryed its own weight for suspending the constituting themselves into an Assembly, especially when so many other things did concur. He saith further, that all were not absent, but all
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of them that were present for ought I can learn, if they were *duas*, yet they were not *pluralis numeri*.

PROTESTATION Reviewed.

THe generality of the Godly in the Land go along with us (say they) and approve our protesting against this meeting. A strange assertion, and of dangerous consequence. This Protestation was given in at the very beginning of the Assembly, ere ever it was constitute, and that upon the delay of taking in their first Paper; and is it probable they could gather all their consents in so short a time? Or, had they them before? But that smelleth of a pre-meditate Faction: Or go their resolutions along with whatsoever these Protesters do? But that is not suitable to them that are truly godly, to have their faith pinned to the sleeves of any, how high soever they hold their head. Or, is it that they will allow none to be of the number of the godly, who go not along with them in every thing? This (I suspect) be the marrow of the matter: But who gave them that power to put out and put in into the Roll of the Godly, whom they please? And as we doubt of their authority so to do, even so also of their power: can they reach the heart, or are they quicker sighted then Elias, who saw not one of the seven thousand God had reserved to himself? Will they condemn all for ungodly, that are not of their way? How suiteth that with their professions elsewhere? I am sure, we have here reason to dissent and appeal from such an uncharitable censure of them that have no power, to the righteous Tribunall of the Lord, to whom we stand. There may be somewhat more yet of dangerous consequence in it, in that they seem to subject the Publick Ministeriall authority to the People, and amongst them, to such onely as are visible Saints, where, if there be any mystery, they will do well to unfold it.

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And now for the solemn words of the Protestation, the grounds and reasons thereof being houghed, we need say no more; but if those Principles from which they say they do it, viz. the Zeal they owe to the glory of God, &c. were rightly weighed, they would inferre, and have produced the quite contrary conclusion: Which the Lord out of his tender mercy to this poor bleeding Church and Countrey, imprint upon their spirits for Christs cause. AMEN.

PROTESTATION Defended.

AS for the fifth, that term of the generality of the godly hath been cleared before, and the Argument was used by this Kirk diverse times. Likewise if he please he may first quarrell with the Generall Assembly 1648. for the expression and argument both. The ground upon which the Protesters have made use of that reason is this; At the meeting in St. Andrews the Protesters delivered in a Representation, notwithstanding whereof, the Meeting did proceed to constitute themselves into an Assembly, and thereafter did approve of the Publick Resolutions, and enact severe censures against all Ministers and Professors in the Land that were of a different judgment, which gave an occasion to many Ministers and Professors throughout the Land, timeously to take into their consideration, what should be their duty at the next Meeting which was appointed by that corrupt Assembly at Dundee, and they doing well approve of the method followed by the Protesters at St. Andrews, thought fit that first a Representation should be given in, desiring these which were to meet, not to proceed to constitute themselves into an Assembly, but to enter into a conference with their Brethren who differed from them in judgment, and eight Propositions were agreed unto after mutuall correspondence, and a report made from the severall quarters of the Countrey, which were to be offered as the subject of the Conference; and in case Conference should be denyed, and that the Meeting should proceed to constitute themselves into a Generall Assembly, as they had done formerly, it was thought a necessary duty, that these who were to repair to the

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place of Meeting, should protest against the authority, constitution and acts of that Assembly. Now, in all this, what is there of a premeditated faction? There was indeed a considerable number in all quarters of the Land of such as in former times have been found to be faithfull, who perceiving that the edge of Church-Discipline was turned against many of the godly in the Land, and for protecting and countenancing the wicked and prophane, that some godly Ministers were already suffering, and that both Ministers & Professors were like to suffer more by the prevailing faction of a corrupt Party in the Ministry, they held it their duty to use all lawfull means in their power, to remedy past evils, & to prevent them for the future, by offering their humble advice to that Meeting; and in case of their proceeding in the course of the begun defection, to protest against these corruptions, and this was all. They are very far from rigid censuring of others, as this writer would have the world to believe, there are many whose judgments are for the Publick Resolutions, who will be loath to accompt all Professors in the Land to be godly; and in their Sermons and otherwise, they do make a difference amongst Professors, as well as the Protesters do, and they also do very well know, that the Protesters do not subject the Ministeriall authority to any other, but unto their Master from whom they have their Commission, and to the Officers thereunto appointed in the Church according to *Mat. 18.* and *1. Cor. 14.* yet they do desire to render all due respect to the Saints, so far as they are known unto them; and do acknowledge, that they have so far an interest in these matters, as that they cannot be denyed a judgment of discretion; and when they see corruption in government, to supplicat for a redress. And what for a Minister of the Gospel is he, that will not lay more weight upon the judgment of such as live according to godlinesse, then upon the judgment of such as lead a life directly fighting against it? In all which they differ nothing from the received Doctrine and Discipline of this Kirk. He will not finde in all the Protesters Papers any thing which may give him ground to think, that these Meetings of Ministers and Professors are looked upon by them as Judicatories; and therefore what needed all these suggestions of Mysteries, and I know not what? But it is a time of reproaches, and we must resolve in the Lords strength to endure the scourge of the tongue,

tongue, so long as there be so many enemies in the Land to his truth and Cause. And now to conclude, I trust that the grounds and reasons of the Protestation stand unshaken. And sure, for all that the Writer of this Paper hath objected against them, and likewise that it was very agreeable to the Principles from which they did it, to protest against the Authority, Constitution, Acts and Proceedings of the pretended Assembly which lately did meet at *Edinburgh*.

READER,

It is left to thine own discretion to correct faults in the Punctuation, and other escapes, which the sense may discover. Besides these, take notice, That Pag 6. line 25. these words were left out, *many able and godly Ministers and Elders from being Church-Officers so likewise* Pag 31 line 5. for, *yet they were admitted, read, and afterward they were admitted.* P. 24. l. 8. f. and *that solidity and judgment and nerves are in it: as to the vindicating, &c.* r. and *what solidity and judgment and nerves are in it, as to the vindicating, &c.* P 47. l. 14. f. and *Acts and censures,* r. and *made Act and censures.* P. 60. l. 6. after the Parenthesis, dele &c. P. 65 l. 2. f. *ground and expression,* r. *ground and manner of expression.* P. 78. & 79. the figures are misplaced, 1. for 2. and 2. for 3. &c. and the punctuation is bad, as in some other places P. 79. l. 21. f. *could only,* r. *commonly.* P. 103. l. 11. after *Assembly,* r. *at S. Andrews* These faults have been observed upon a superficial reading, but very like there may be more, which the Courteous Reader will pardon.

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